ALEXANDER MONTGOMERIE[1].

THE significance of Montgomerie in Scottish literature arises not entirely from the intrinsic merits of his poetry. Historically, he occupies a position of considerable importance, not only as the 'last of the makaris,' in the familiar phrase, but also as one of the first and the only conspicuous Scottish poet of the sixteenth century to adopt the lyric and sonneteering fashions of the Continent, and as a rival of Spenser for priority in the use of the *Amoretti* rhyme-scheme of the sonnet. It may be shown also—and here at the same time may be partly indicated the specific biographical contributions of the following study—that he was in the Low Countries in the seventies along with Gascoigne and other literary soldiers of fortune; that he was a follower of James's French favourite d'Aubigny and an intimate friend of the English poet Henry Constable; that he was the King's instructor in the art of poetry; and that he was considerably older than has hitherto been supposed.

The date of his birth has usually been placed vaguely in the decade 1540–50[2]. His elder brother John, however, who was head of the Hesilhead Montgomeries from his father's death in 1556 to his own two years later, was old enough in 1546 to be appointed tutor[3] to his cousin Hugh, Earl of Eglinton, and he had a son who sat at the assizes in 1562[4]. The elder brother, therefore, could hardly have been born

[1] The writer's interest in Montgomerie is the result of his researches for a still unfinished thesis on James I in his relations with literature. It is intended that this study, when completed, shall contain a fuller account of Montgomerie's position and influence in the Scottish court.

[2] Our information regarding Montgomerie's life has remained in much the same state in which it was left by the careful researches of Irving and Laing, contained in the 1821 edition of Montgomerie's poems. Cranstoun, in his edition of the poems for the Scottish Text Society and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, has followed closely the notes and introduction of the earlier volume. Brotanek, *Wiener Beiträge*, Vol. III, 1896, has subjected the biography to careful and profitable scrutiny, though he has given more attention to questions of text and style. The information given here is supplementary to that afforded by these accounts.

[3] *A Genealogical History of the Family of Montgomery*, by T. H. Montgomery, Phila., 1863, p. 135.

[4] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Bannatyne Club, 1833, Vol. I, p. 420.

later than 1525. The poet's younger brother Robert—the notorious Bishop of Glasgow—was thought fit to preach in 1560[1], accepted a charge at Cupar two years afterward[2], and had a son of age before 1580. His birth therefore must surely have been earlier than 1540. And from this tangled chain of evidence we are led to place the poet's birth early in the third decade of the century, ten years or more prior to the date commonly assigned. The appearance of five of his poems in the Bannatyne Manuscript of 1568 would indicate that he was already a poet of some standing.

In the ten years following 1568, it may be shown with fair certainty that Montgomerie was in military service, engaged under the Regent Morton in the campaign against the Marian nobles (1570–73), and later against the Spanish in Flanders. In the tutor Peter Young's list of the books in James's library, compiled chiefly in the years 1573–78, there are records of two gifts[3], one an 'Institution des Princes, Gottin fra Capten Montgomery,' and the other a 'Mappemonde Papistique, Donnée par le Capitaine Robert Montgommery.' That the poet was a captain we know from later documents, and Brotanek surmises therefore that he was the donor of the first book, and that the addition of the given name in recording the second book was Young's device to distinguish between the two officers. This point need not be decided, but it is possible to explain the occasion of the gifts and to show that the poet served under his kinsman Robert. The latter had had military experience in France and was a leader of Morton's forces in Scotland. On the cessation of internal disturbances in the spring of 1573, he was sent abroad with about three thousand horse and foot to fight against the Spanish in Flanders[4]. That the poet accompanied him is shown by the fact that Polwart in the *Flyting* with Montgomerie, line 591, refers to such a journey—'Syne forward to Flanders fast fled or hee ceast.' This statement has hitherto been considered of no significance. It gains weight, however, in view of Captain Robert's expedition, the poet's title of captain, and the evidence that Robert was on terms of close intimacy with the Hesilhead Montgomeries. In 1572 he appears, with his title to identify him, as prolocutor for Hugh of Hesilhead in a lawsuit[5]. As travellers returning from abroad, the two captains would be very likely to bring books for the King; Robert Hackett came back

[1] *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Kirk*, Bannatyne Club, p. 4.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[3] *The Library of James VI*, ed. G. F. Warner, Edinburgh, 1893, pp. 1, lix.
[4] *Calendar Foreign State Papers*, 1572–74, Nos. 460, 1114, 1163.
[5] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. I, p. 62.

from Flanders with at least a dozen[1]. Each, if we accept Brotanek's suggestion, returned with an offering.

Unfortunately, this identity of title is a source of some confusion. The reference in *Melvill's Diary*, p. 44, to a 'Capten Mongummerie, a guid honest man, the Regent's domestic,' may point to either officer, though the term 'domestic' and the joke in the context would suggest that Melvill was thinking of the poet. T. H. Montgomery[2] makes Robert a brother of Hugh and nephew of the poet, but apparently only on the evidence of the lawsuit, and without reason when we consider his probable age and military standing in 1572. Both Irving and Warner[3], without giving authorities, state that he was appointed one of the twenty-five gentlemen pensioners, under command of Lennox as high chamberlain, who attended the King 'at all times of his ryding and passing to the feildis'; but these were sons of nobles and barons, and his name is not given in the list quoted in the *Correspondence of Bowes*[4]. If the statement is based on the fact that a Captain Montgomery was messenger of the King to the General Assembly of the Kirk, April 24, 1583, forbidding them to remove the principal of the University of Glasgow[5], it is probably mistaken, for the messenger was doubtless the poet himself, whose brother, the Bishop of Glasgow, was quarrelling with the Kirk at that time. Altogether, we may conclude at least that the poet was abroad in 1573, was about the Court as one of Morton's officers before and afterward, was perhaps instrumental in the appointment of his brother as minister at Stirling in 1572[6], and passed into the service of the King and d'Aubigny on their accession to power in 1579. In that year Montgomerie made his first appearance as court poet in *The Navigatioun* and *The Cartell of the Thre Ventrous Knichts*, tedious sets of verses to be recited apparently at the King's entry into Holyrood House on his first coming to Edinburgh[7].

The chief clues to the poet's later career are contained in a document[8] in the *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, dated March 21, 1588–89. This refers to a pension of five hundred marks granted by James for service 'done and to be done be his gude servitour Alex[r]

[1] *Library of James VI*, p. xxxix.
[2] *History of the Family of Montgomery*, p. 135.
[3] *Library of James VI*, p. l, note.
[4] Woodrow Society Edition, p. 58, from Cottonian MSS., date October 24, 1580.
[5] Calderwood's *History of the Kirk*, Woodrow Society, 1843, Vol. III, p. 708.
[6] *Acts of the General Assembly*, p. 135. The appointment was at Morton's request.
[7] Cf. *The Navigatioun*, ll. 270—74, Scottish Text Society Edition, p. 212.
[8] Printed in full in *Notes and Queries*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 4, and also in Brotanek, p. 159.

Montgomerie,' the first payment of which was made from the 'crop' or income of the year 1582. According to the document, the pension was paid regularly until 1586, when the poet was given leave to travel in 'the pairtis of France, Flanderis, Spaine, and otheris beyond sey.' There he had remained 'continewallie sensyne, deteynit and halden in prison.' His pension had been stopped, 'quhairas his guid service merited rather augmentatioun nor diminisching,' and it was therefore restored by the order, the next payment to be made in the autumn of 1589, and to be taken as before from the revenues of the Bishop of Glasgow, notwithstanding the restoration of Bishop Beaton to those revenues. The first payment of this pension is recorded in the *Register of Presentations to Benefices*, September 27, 1583.

Here clearly Montgomerie appears as a pensioner in the King's service during the years 1582–89, and between the autumn of 1586 and the winter of 1588 abroad and in prison. With this information should be compared the biographical material in the poems and the facts regarding his brother Robert's relations with d'Aubigny. The latter, on March 5, 1580, was made Earl of Lennox, and about the same time acquired the extensive revenues of the Bishopric of Glasgow. Robert was appointed 'tulchan' archbishop in 1581, as the means by which the money might reach Lennox. We know also that the Montgomeries of Eglinton were Catholics and of the same court faction. These facts, joined with the statements in the second and tenth lines of one of Montgomerie's sonnets on the trouble over his pension, afford conclusive proof that the poet also was in the service of Lennox before the latter's expulsion from Scotland in 1582, and was thus a member of the royal household. For later reference in connection with Constable the sonnet is given in full. The 'suete Duke' is Ludovic, the son of Lennox, and the 'umquhyle Maister' is not Morton, as has been supposed, but Lennox himself. Constable and Keir could not have had Morton for master; Constable was a Papish spy and Keir was the right-hand man of Lennox throughout his stay in Scotland.

Adeu, my King, court, cuntrey, and my kin;
Adeu, suete Duke, whose father held me deir;
Adeu, companiones, Constable and Keir[1]:
Thrie treuar hairts, I trou, sall never tuin.

[1] The quality of this companion is indicated by a letter from Sir Edward Stafford in Paris, August, 1585: 'John [doubtless Henry] Kever, a Scot, sometime secretary to the Duke of Lennox, has been with the Queen of Scots in disguise' (Thorpe, *Cal. Scot.*, Vol. I, p. 440). Sir James Melvill calls him a 'great practiser' against the Kirk (*Memoirs*, p. 240).

If byganes to revolve I suld begin,
My tragedie wald cost you mony a teir
To heir hou hardly I am handlit heir,
Considring once the honour I wes in.

Shirs, ye haif sene me griter with his Grace,
And with your umquhyle Maister, to, and myne;
Quha thoght the Poet somtyme worth his place,
Suppose ye sie they shot him out sensyne.
Sen wryt, nor wax, nor word is not a word;
I must perforce ga seik my father's suord[1].

By the Raid of Ruthven, August 22, 1582, the opponents of Lennox secured possession of the King's person and forced the Duke to leave for France, where he died in May of the year following. It was probably on the occasion of his death that the King, who freed himself from the control of the Raiders in June of 1583, granted Montgomerie his pension (the first payment of which was made in September of the same year) as a means of rewarding a follower of his favourite and continuing his service. In November, the King brought a significant package of books from Stirling to Holyrood[2], and in the winter following he seems to have settled down to the study and composition of poetry. The King's verse and the *Reulis and Cautelis,* published the next year, were thus written under the guidance of Montgomerie and not of Buchanan, who died September 29, 1582, and had ceased to act as a tutor some time before. Both verse and criticism show abundant internal evidence of Montgomerie's influence.

The motives for the departure from Scotland in 1586 have not been discovered. Possibly the journey was made desirable by the feud between the Montgomeries and the Cunninghams, which reached its climax in the murder of Hugh, Earl of Eglinton, April 1, 1586, and the swift revenge of his clan[3]. That he was entrusted with political errands may be gathered from the reference in the document of 1589 to 'his guid service,' and from repeated statements in his sonnets to the effect that his unlucky activities abroad were sanctioned by the King. The choice of him would have been in line with James's policy of selecting his personal and literary associates for such duties. The tutor Peter Young made three journeys to Denmark at this time in the affair of the King's marriage; William Fowler and the Hudsons were courtiers who mingled the arts of spy and sonneteer. It is not unlikely that the errand was to Bishop Beaton, Mary's representative in Paris, who after her death

[1] Scottish Text Society Edition, Sonnet xvii.
[2] *Library of James VI*, p. xxxv.
[3] Keith's *History of Scotland*, 1711 edition, p. 495.

was restored to his revenues, and acted for a time as the agent of James in the French court. Montgomerie's lines in Sonnet XVI:

> Wes Bishop Beatoun bot restored agane,
> To my ruin reserving all the rest,
> To recompense my prisoning and pain!
> The worst is ill if this be bot the best.

indicate that he was interested in the restoration, and considered it a partial though sorry reward for his hardships. The allusion in Sonnet XIX to a 'feud' with the Bishop is merely an answer to his enemies among the Lords of the Session who during his suit for the recovery of his pension have suggested that the Bishop might resent its payment from his funds.

His friendship with Keir and Constable of course bears out this theory of his mission. The former has already been spoken of. That Constable was the English poet and Catholic emissary of the same name is confirmed by other evidence that he was in Scotland during the autumn and winter of 1589. Among his sonnets are four addressed to the King of Scots[1], one speaking of the storm, in September, 1589, which delayed the Princess Anne's arrival from Denmark. But if we take line ten of Montgomerie's sonnet literally, and interpret 'umquhyle Maister' as the Duke of Lennox, we must conclude that Constable was in Scotland or at least in the employ of Lennox before the latter's death in 1583; and this is borne out by the fact that the poet's father was captain of the border town of Berwick, 1576–78[2], while Constable was an undergraduate at Cambridge. As a Catholic, the young St John's College man might well have joined the messengers of Mary and Lennox who were going back and forth at the time between England and Scotland. While it is impossible to speak here of Constable's later visits to Scotland or the literary aspects of his friendship with the Scottish poet, it may be pointed out that the intimacy accounts for the appearance in the works of both[3] of the sonnet beginning,

> Thine eye the glasse where I behold my heart.

The authorship of the sonnet must be ascribed to Constable, since it is an integral part of the series of nine 'arguments' of seven sonnets each into which the Diana sequence is divided. Montgomerie's version is a re-working of Constable's in Scottish dialect, with the object perhaps,

[1] *Sonnets and other Poems*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, London, 1859, pp. 33—35.
[2] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, under *Henry Constable.*
[3] Constable, *Sonnets and other Poems*, p. 4; Montgomerie, Scottish Text Soc. Edition, Sonnet XXXIII.

as Brotanek suggests, of removing the rhyme-in-terms (come-become), which the *Reulis and Cautelis* condemn, and which occurs but once in Montgomerie's poems. The only marked alterations are in the rhyme-scheme and phrasing of the last six lines.

In view of the recovery of his pension, Montgomerie's biographers have inferred that the sonnets, XIV—XXX inclusive, dealing with the loss of his income and his fall from court favour, were not all written at one time, and that a portion of them, with the *Invective against Fortune* among the miscellaneous poems, refer to some subsequent misfortune. But it is more reasonable to suppose that the poems in question were all written in the winter and spring of 1589[1], and that in spite of the order for a renewal of the pension he never recovered from his first disgrace. The King was now definitely committed to the Protestant party and to friendship with England. Whatever his indebtedness or secret goodwill, he could not openly befriend a man whose alliances were such as we have seen, and whose intrigues must have been discovered by his imprisonment and the suit for the recovery of his pension. Montgomerie was at this time over fifty years of age. His former pupil had become ingrossed in other affairs, and in September of that year sailed for Denmark, and did not return until May of the year following. That Montgomerie did not contribute to the 1591 edition of James's poems in itself indicates that he was no longer in open favour. It may be added that if these sonnets were all written at one time and for a special purpose, it is scarcely possible to draw from them a general conclusion regarding the poet's petulant melancholy of temperament and undignified servility.

The supposition that Montgomerie was married and had children is based on an account of a witch trial in March, 1622[2], in which a certain Margaret Montgomerie and Alexander her brother are spoken of as 'brother bairns of the hous of Hessilhead.' But these in all probability were children, not of the poet, but of either Hugh[3] or Alexander his nephews, who were during his lifetime the main

[1] Since the poets Alexander Scott and Robert Semple are spoken of in Sonnet XXV, they must have been alive in this year. But Scott, the references to whom as a burgess of Edinburgh in 1581–2 are pointed out by Mr. T. F. Henderson (*Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p. 241), was probably also the burgess of that name mentioned in Thorpe's *Calendar of Scotland*, July 20, 1591. He had sent to England complaints, possibly in some legal capacity, against an English envoy who had contracted debts among Edinburgh merchants.

[2] Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. II, p. 594. Cited by Paterson in *Notes and Queries*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 4.

[3] The mother of Sir William Mure of Rowallan was not, as has been stated, the sister of Montgomerie, but the daughter of this nephew (see *Works*, Scottish Text Society, Vol. II, p. 256).

representatives of the Hesilhead branch of the family. According to James Paterson, who brings forward the evidence, Margaret's first child, the victim of the witchcraft, was baptized May 5, 1614, and the mother's birth should therefore be placed not much earlier than 1590, when the poet was already well over fifty years of age[1]. Paterson was misled by the assumption that the poet was born in 1556; and the same error must have led Irving and later Cranstoun to speak of his real and sincere passion for Margaret Montgomerie, daughter of the third Earl of Eglinton, to whom he addressed verses at the time of her marriage about 1583, and who was at least thirty years his junior and of a much higher station in society.

Indeed the interpretation not only of his sonnets and personal poems but of his later religious verse is considerably affected by our additional knowledge of his age, friends, and political relations. It would be interesting if we could show that Gascoigne, who sailed for the Low Countries a year earlier than Montgomerie, was familiar with the Scottish officer, or gave him a copy of the *Notes of Instruction* from which the King and his instructor later pruned so freely for the *Reulis and Cautelis*. It would be interesting also to know how Montgomerie came by the sonnet-form, *abab, bcbc, cdcd, ee*, which first appeared in the *Essayes of a Prentise*, and which King James and Edmund Spenser each in his own way distinguished by adopting it to the exclusion of all other forms.

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[1] Since the preparation of this article, the writer has found evidence which strengthens his theory of Montgomerie's age and places his death clearly in the last decade of the century. Among the unpublished poems of King James in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 24,195) is a sonnet entitled *An Epitaphe on Montgomerie*, addressed to the brethren of 'the prince of Poets of our land,' and written evidently before the King's departure for England. The closing lines—

> Though to his buriall was refused the bell,
> The bell of fame shall aye his praises knell—

indicate that even after his death the poet was not honoured by his opponents in the Kirk. The sonnet is to be printed in an edition, now in preparation, of the King's unpublished poems. Further evidence regarding Montgomerie's death and the cause of it is furnished by the *Sonnet to Bacchus*, among James's poems in *Lusus Regius*, ed. R. S. Rait, 1901.

SCHRÖDERS AUSSCHREIBEN UND DIE DREI BRUDERMORDDRAMEN, 1775.

'JEDOCH wird es nöthig sein, dass die Herrn Übersetzer uns erst die Stücke anzeigen, welche sie übersetzen wollen, *damit nicht mehrere zugleich ein und dasselbe Stück einsenden* und derjenige, welchem wir *seine Übersetzung zurückschicken müssten*, glauben möchte (*welcher Irrthum bei Originalstücken nicht entstehen kann*), wenn er abwesend erführe, das Stück wäre aufgeführt, man habe seine Übersetzung widerrechtlich abgeschrieben.' Dieser übel stilisierte Satz—man sieht ihm an, dass er von einem Theatermenschen herrührt, der auch beim Schreiben mit Geste und Betonung arbeiten muss, da er sich zur Überlegung keine Zeit nimmt—ist dem *zweiten* Teil des Hamburger Ausschreibens entnommen, der sich mit den Übersetzungen befasst und darum bei den Erörterungen der ganzen Frage, soviel ich sehe, bisher ausser Acht gelassen worden ist. Aber ist es nicht merkwürdig, dass, was man mit Recht allenfalls bei Übersetzungen für möglich gehalten hatte: verschiedene Autoren könnten sich dasselbe Stück dazu aussuchen—dass dies, der Voraussage des Ausschreibens zum Trotz, *mutatis mutandis* nun gerade bei den Originalstücken eintrat, wo kein Mensch darauf gefasst sein konnte? Denn die Parenthese 'welcher Irrthum bei Originalstücken nicht entstehen kann' ist nur dann kein Unsinn, wenn man sie nicht auf die Worte 'glauben möchte' bezieht, zu denen sie grammatisch gehören, sondern sie freier interpretiert, als einen Seitenblick—nach Schauspielerart mitunter an der falschen Stelle angebracht—gegen den ersten Teil des Ausschreibens hin: dort brauchte ein solcher Fall nicht vorgesehen zu werden. Wenn also bei den Originalstücken der Umstand eintrat, den man nur bei den Übersetzungen für möglich gehalten hatte, so brauchte man sich nicht mehr darüber zu wundern, dass dann auch die nur für den einen Fall vorgesehene Massnahme in dem andern tatsächlich eingetreten ist, und zwei von den drei denselben Stoff verwendenden Originaldramen

zurückgeschickt wurden; denn dass zugunsten besonders hervorragend ausgefallener Werke Ausnahmen gemacht werden sollten, war nirgends stipuliert. Aber die eingangs angedeutete Frage bleibt bestehen: Ist nicht irgend ein innerer Zusammenhang zwischen jenen äussern Gegensätzen vorhanden?

Im *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, 3, 197 ff hat es E. Schmidt wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass Miller Ende Juli 1775 in Giessen mit Klinger von Leisewitzs Drama und seiner Absicht, es nach Hamburg zu schicken, gesprochen, ihn dadurch angeregt habe, denselben Stoff zu bearbeiten und sich ebenfalls in Hamburg zu bewerben. Ich denke aber, man kann ruhig noch zwei Schritte weiter gehn: Klinger ist von Miller direkt dazu aufgefordert worden! Der dritte Mann hat ebenfalls von Leisewitzens Stück gewusst! Die an sich treffenden Bemerkungen von Gervinus und Schmidt, die eine Erklärung für das eigentümliche Zusammentreffen zu geben suchen, vermögen mich hier nicht zu befriedigen: Leisewitz war durch seine historischen Studien an den Stoff gekommen; Klinger, der doch wie Einer die Ideen der Zeit in sich gesogen hatte, musste erst durch Miller darauf gebracht werden; bei dem dritten, gewiss unbedeutendsten von ihnen, werden darum auch am wenigsten die Bedingungen vorhanden gewesen sein, die Schmidt der Epoche entnimmt. Sie erklären nur, warum man den Stoff so gern aufnahm, wenn er einem präsentiert war. Denn stellt man sich einmal alle die Stoffe zusammen, für die der Sturm und Drang grosse Vorliebe hatte, und berechnet dann die Wahrscheinlichkeit für den Fall, dass von einer gewissen Anzahl drei oder auch nur zwei Dramatiker sich denselben aussuchten, so ergibt sich, dass sie äusserst gering gewesen ist.

Ostern 1775 war Miller, von einem einsemestrigen Studium aus Leipzig kommend, wieder in Göttingen gelandet, traf dort gerade noch den Bundesheiligen an, der von Karlsruhe zurückkam, und fuhr mit ihm nach Hamburg. Wir wissen, dass er hier Claudius nahegetreten ist; aber auch mit den andern literarischen Grössen, deren Hamburg und Umgegend eine stattliche Zahl aufwies, wird er in Berührung gekommen sein. Es hat keinen Wert, solche zu nennen; die Hauptsache bleibt, dass Miller über Absichten und Einzelheiten des Ausschreibens genauer informiert wurde als Leute, die mit Hamburg in keiner Verbindung standen, und weiter: dass noch andere von Leisewitz's Absicht erfuhren und von dem Stoff, den sein Drama verarbeitete! Allerdings konnte Miller, sieht man scharf hin, eigentlich nicht mehr erfahren als in dem Ausschreiben selbst gesagt oder angedeutet war. Aber die Tatsache, dass noch die meisten der spätern Literarhistoriker

sich über das Wesen des Unternehmens getäuscht und dass, trotzdem es Wolff, *Zeitschrift f. deutsche Phil.*, 20, 39 und nach ihm Werner *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale*, 32, XXVI erkannt haben, sich diese Erkenntnis auch heute noch nicht völlig durchgesetzt hat, zeigt doch, wie leicht das Vorgehen der Hamburger Theaterleute, das völlig neu war, damals erst recht in dieser Neuheit unerkannt bleiben und einfach für ein Preisausschreiben genommen werden konnte. Bereits am 15. April war nun eins der eingereichten Theaterstücke, des jüngern Lessing Lustspiel *Die reiche Frau*, für das Repertoire angenommen. Hier wurde gewiss auch Millern zum ersten Mal klar, dass ja kein fester Termin gesetzt war, bis zu dem die Autoren ihre Stücke eingereicht haben mussten; hier kam sofort auch die Erkenntnis: werden mehrere Originalstücke eingereicht, die denselben Stoff oder Gegenstand bearbeiten, und entspricht das erste davon den Anforderungen, die Schröder und Konsorten gestellt haben, so gilt unfehlbar der Grundsatz 'Wer zuerst kommt mahlt zuerst' in der Anwendung: sein Stück wird alsbald angenommen und bezahlt, und die andern werden gerade so sicher zurückgeschickt, als wenn es sich um Übersetzungen gehandelt hätte. Dasselbe sagten sich natürlich auch andere, als sie von dem trefflichen, auf der Bühne voraussichtlich überaus wirksamen Stoff hörten, den Leisewitz in Arbeit haben sollte. Es ergab sich für diese, wofern sie sich bewerben wollten, die Notwendigkeit, alle ihre dramatischen Kräfte zusammenzunehmen, um ein im Sinne der Ausschreibenden gutes Werk zu schaffen, und mit diesem so bald als möglich auf der Bildfläche zu erscheinen! Je früher desto besser: vier Wochen waren ja doch als Frist gesetzt, innerhalb welcher die Theaterleitung ein Stück 'annehmen' oder zurückgeben wollte. Den Mann, der sich das zu Herzen nahm, darf man wohl in Hamburg oder nicht weit davon suchen.

Nun hatte es unter No. 2 der Bedingungen im Ausschreiben geheissen: 'Wir müssen bitten, dass man uns nicht so verstehen möge, als machten wir uns verbindlich, jedes Stück, das uns der Verfasser zuschickte, mit 100 Thlr. bezahlen zu wollen. Wir wünschen durch diesen Weg mehr'—soll das sein 'vielmehr,' oder 'mehr als wir bisher bekamen'?—'gute Originalstücke auf unser Theater zu bringen. Und daher lässt sich freilich schon schliessen, dass wenn wir uns auch dramaturgische Kritiken anmassen dürften, wir dennoch unter den jetzigen Umständen'—der Ausdruck spricht für die zweite Erklärung von 'mehr'—'nicht so gar strenge seyn würden. Allein wenn ein Verfasser uns ein Stück zuschickt, das wir aus uns auch nur bekannten Gründen nicht aufführbar fänden, müsste sich der Verfasser nicht für

beleidigt halten, wenn wir ihm, spätestens innerhalb vier Wochen, sein Stück an die uns bekannt gemachte Adresse wieder zurückliefern.' Bringen wir wenigstens die Hauptsache aus diesem hölzern gebauten Satz in eine annehmbare Form: 'selbst wenn wir die Gründe für uns behalten müssten'! Diese Klausel ist ins Auge zu fassen. Denn sie verrät die gewiegten Geschäftsleute, die sich für alle Fälle eine Tür offen lassen, um sich durch sie schlechterdings jeder Verpflichtung entziehen zu können—ohne sich schon über die Art eines solchen Falls weitere Gedanken zu machen. Man wollte mehrere für die Bühne geeignete Theaterstücke erwerben; wurden nun z. B. mehrere eingeschickt, die denselben Inhalt hatten, dann trat damit ein Fall ein, für den der Theaterleitung die Nottür winkte: nur eins davon konnte man dem Publikum vorsetzen! Und unterlagen sie gar zur selben Zeit der Begutachtung, so durfte man sagen, oder für sich behalten, dass dasjenige genommen sei, von dem man sich den grössten Erfolg—auf der Bühne und in der Kasse—versprochen habe! Dennoch musste es ein Schlag ins Kontor werden, wenn ein Stück angenommen und honoriert war, und dann ein weiteres mit demselben Inhalt auf dem Plan erschien, *das noch besser war*. Ich kann die Vermutung nicht bergen, dass ein derartiger Streich etwa von dem Schalk Asmus oder irgend einem andern Zunftgenossen angesichts der 'kühnen' Voraussage des Ausschreibens: dieser Fall sei unmöglich, mit Hochgenuss begrüsst worden wäre, und dass durch sie vielleicht auch Miller erst darauf gebracht worden ist. Es stehen mir hier die Hülfsmittel nicht zur Verfügung, um das Verhältnis zwischen den einzelnen Hamburger Persönlichkeiten intimer kennen zu lernen.

Nicht nur die Ehre, auf Schröders Bühne zu kommen, galt es: hundert Taler, eine in damaliger Zeit schon an und für sich hohe Summe, waren relativ, d.h. für einen Studenten, sehr hoch. Hatte sie der Sohn des reichen Celler Weinhändlers nötig? Waren sie diesem Burschen, der dennoch seine Universitätsjahre besser genutzt hatte als die befreundeten Pauvriers, der für historische Studien Reisen zu unternehmen in der Lage war, der trotz der innern Abneigung gegen die Juristerei sich diese als Brotstudium gewählt, der sein Examen früh gemacht, schon einen sichern bürgerlichen Beruf hatte, ihn nun aber nicht einmal ausübte, sondern gemächlich in der Residenz seinen Neigungen lebte, während die Kommilitonen noch mit leeren Taschen in der Welt herumsausten—waren ihm die hundert Taler zu gönnen? Da war nun hier ein anderer, ein Frankfurter Konstablerssohn, der Vater war seit fünfzehn Jahren tot, die Mutter hatte mit Waschen und

Flicken drei Kinder grossgezogen, jetzt mussten alle vier hart ringen, um im Daseinskampfe oben zu bleiben; und dabei brachte es der arme junge Student doch nicht fertig, mit klugem Bedacht sein Streben auf ein festes Ziel, einen soliden Beruf einzustellen, der ihn nach ein paar Jahren aller Entbehrungen enthoben haben würde!

Das Resultat solcher Überlegungen war: Klinger muss sich mit allen Kräften auf die Arbeit werfen und sie in kürzester Zeit bewältigen! Wenn Leisewitz nicht aufgehalten wird, kann Klingers Stück nicht angenommen werden! Leisewitz darf also mit dem seinen erst *nach* Klinger, frühestens vier Wochen, vor die Hamburger Bühnenleute treten! Und so geschah es denn auch. Es braucht einen nicht zu irren, dass in Millers Briefen an Dritte, wie E. Schmidt a.a.O., 199 bemerkt, zunächst mit keinem Wort von Klingers Werk die Rede ist, und erst am 24. September, wo es fertig gewesen sein soll, davon gesprochen wird. Es war ja doch notwendig, da das Resultat des Ausschreibens durch ganz Deutschland bekannt werden musste—und wer wusste, mit was für Bemerkungen über das merkwürdige Vorkommnis begleitet!—dass Miller jede Äusserung vermied, die hinterher zu irgendwelchen Kombinationen Anlass geben konnte. Hierzu halte man den Text des zuletzt erwähnten Briefes. Nachdem des 'genialen' Klinger mit folgenden Worten gedacht ist: 'Er hat mir wieder eine ausserordentliche Scene aus seinem Pyrrhus geschickt. Das wird ein Werk!' heisst es weiter: '*Auch schreibt er*, dass er ein gantz regelmässiges Stück fürs Theater geschrieben hat: Die Zwillinge. *Vermuthlich* schickt ers an Ackermanns nach Hamburg' und dann über den bescheidenern von den beiden: 'Leissewitz, ein Freund von uns, hat *auch ein sehr braves Stück* hingeliefert'! Klingers Drama wird, durch seinen Wohltäter Goethe geschickt, Anfang October bei Schröder angekommen sein, zu einer Zeit, wo Leisewitz's schon zwei Monate in Hamburg war—aber nicht bei Schröder. Fast die ganze Zeit, seit Klinger jene 'Anregung' erhalten hatte: während der beschleunigten Ausarbeitung und Übersendung der *Zwillinge*, und eines vierwöchigen Wartens bis sie angenommen und die Nachricht an Klinger's Vertrauensmann abgegangen war: im ganzen etwa drei Monate lang, hat auch Voss das ihm zur ordnungsmässigen Beförderung anvertraute Werk zurückgehalten!

Was also Guelfo den Eltern vorwirft: dass sie ihm das Recht der Erstgeburt gestohlen und Ferdinando zugewendet hätten, das hatten hier Miller und Voss zu Klingers Gunsten an Leisewitz gesündigt—obzwar dieser Vergleich nur zum Teil passt; denn hier ward benach-

teiligt der mit äussern Glücksgütern reich bedachte, gesetzte junge Schriftsteller von begrenzten Gaben, der geniale und arme dagegen begünstigt. Nun wird auch der Zweifel Guelphos, 'Wer *beweist* mir, dass ich nicht der Erstgeborene bin?' bedeutungsvoll: dem Publikum ist die Kenntnis des wahren Sachverhalts verborgen geblieben, und später entfloss der Zweifel: 'Sind die *Zwillinge* eher angekommen als *Julius*, oder umgekehrt?' der merkwürdigen Tatsache, dass gerade dies Motiv, Klingers *eigene Zutat* zu dem erhaltenen Stoff, auch von den Preisrichtern beim Schopfe gefasst und vorgezeigt worden war, um den 'Sieg' zu begründen, während ihn in Wirklichkeit nur ein Plus an Beschleunigung auf der einen, an Verzögerung auf der andern Seite möglich gemacht hatte. Es ist schon zu glauben, dass wenigstens der Keim zu dem Motiv aus Klingers eignem Bewusstsein von der moralischen Qualität des ganzen Handels und aus der Voraussicht seiner Folgen heraus entstanden ist. Es konnte wohl auch nur von aussen herzugebracht werden. Denn die fixe Idee, dass der Vater 'noch ehe des Kindes Sinne geöffnet waren, es mit Betrug umsponnen' habe, ergreift nicht etwa in der Paranoia der letzten Akte von dem Grübler Besitz, sondern er legt sie sich mit der Behutsamkeit zurecht, die solche Phantasieblüten immer für sich verlangen, und hat auf den Einwand, den er von jedem Vernünftigen erwarten musste: 'wie konnte denn der Vater schon bei der Geburt der Kinder für das eine wegen seiner spätern Gefügigkeit Zuneigung, gegen das andere wegen seiner Unfügsamkeit Abneigung haben, noch dazu wo diese Eigenschaft Guelfo's ja erst durch des Vaters Parteilichkeit die bedenklichen Dimensionen annimmt?'—auf diesen Einwand hat er sich die jämmerliche Erklärung bereitgelegt: 'Man wusste nicht, welcher der Erstgeborene sey, weil man es nicht wissen wollte, *weil seine heuchlerische, sanfte Miene schon damals der Eltern Herz verführte*[1]. So kann die Idee denn auch nicht festwachsen, sondern muss herunterfallen wie ein Apfel, der lose auf einem Zweig gelegen hat, oder—um ein hier sehr 'naheliegendes' Wort Goethes zu gebrauchen, sie ist 'wie ein Splitter im Fleisch, der schwürt und sich

[1] Die Stelle erinnert allerdings an eine im *Julius* (Neudruck, 27, 1 ff.): '*Ertzbischoff*: In der That ein unruhiger gefärlicher Charakter. *Fürst*. Noch gefährlicher, weil er neben Julius steht.—Ehe der als ein Kind wusste was Liebe ist, hatte er schon einen schmachtenden Blick.' Hierzu lassen sich noch viele andere Parallelen stellen, die man auf der Stelle notiert, sobald man beide Stücke auch nur oberflächlich durchliest. Ich müsste aber erst eine Untersuchung der Quellen anstellen, ehe ich behaupten könnte: Miller hatte sogar eine Abschrift des *Julius* mit nach Giessen gebracht. Zeit, eine solche sich zu verschaffen, war mehr als hinreichend vorhanden gewesen. Mich dünkt überhaupt eine erneute Untersuchung der Geschichte der Texte notwendig. Wir hören von Abschriften, die in Hannover *und* Hamburg besorgt wurden, ebenso vom Original-manuskript in *beiden* Plätzen; wir wissen, dass der Druck im *Hamburger Theater* ohne Wissen Leisewitzens erfolgt ist; woraus wurde der Text genommen? u. s. w.

herausschwürt,' sie ist überflüssig. Es geschieht, indem der 'Beweis' geliefert wird, den Guelfo verlangt hatte: 'Guelfo, Du musst der Zweytgeborene seyn, ich litt mehr, und liebe Dich stärker.' Darauf antwortet Guelfo: 'Dein Beweis floss aus dem Mutterherzen[1].' Ohne Einbusse an Konsequenz in der Entwicklung könnte man das ganze Motiv, über dem nach den Redensarten der Hamburger beide Brüder fallen, von vornherein wegschneiden. Es hinterliesse kaum ein paar Narben. Die ungebändigte Leidenschaft der ganzen Natur des einen Sohnes reisst die Familie ins Verderben, nicht eine Missgeburt seiner klügelnden Phantasie.

[1] Ich fasse also dies Wort auf als Drangabe nunmehr auch des Verdachts des Betrugs in der Geburtstunde, nachdem Ende der vorhergehenden Scene der Entschluss gefasst ist, die Erstgeburtsrechte dem Bruder zu überlassen und nur die Braut zu verlangen: eine Kompensation, die dem erwarteten beiderseitigen Verzicht auf Blanca im *Julius* entspricht, da hier nur *ein* Streitobjekt vorhanden ist. Man könnte annehmen, dass der Ton auf 'dein' zu legen, und Guelfo damit zeige, dass die Worte der Mutter ihn mächtig bewegen, aber seine Ansicht selbst unerschüttert geblieben sei. Dann würde zu den nun folgenden Worten: 'Du bist unschuldig' zu ergänzen sein: 'der Vater ist der allein Schuldige.' Aber ich meine, sie dienen allein als ein ganz äusserlicher Gegensatz zu den nächsten: 'Und Dein Guelfo ist umso unglücklicher.' Denn warum ist er das? Natürlich nicht, weil die Mutter sich als unschuldig statt, wie er einen Augenblick gefürchtet, als Teilnehmerin des Betrugs erwiesen hat, sondern weil jetzt in Luft zerronnen ist die Idee, die sich seine Phantasie zurechtgemacht hatte, um nicht zugeben zu müssen, dass die Schuld an der Abneigung des Vaters allein der Wildheit seiner Natur zuzuschreiben ist, und weil nun die Grossmut—hier macht sich wieder der Einfluss des *Julius* geltend—die er mit dem Verzicht auf die Erstgeburtsrechte auszuüben geglaubt hatte, nichtig wird: er *gibt* nun *nichts* mehr, sondern *nimmt* nur, wenn er dem Bruder diese Rechte lässt und die Braut für sich fordert. Im folgenden Monolog Guelfos setzt sich die scheinbare Unklarheit fort. 'Mutter—wenn er nicht?—wenn er nicht—?' Der verschiedenen Stellung der Fragezeichen, dort vor, hier nach dem, einen ausgelassenen Gedanken andeutenden, Gedankenstrich, entspricht doch wohl kaum auch eine unterschiedliche Ergänzung. Denn das folgende 'Ha, so bin ich Guelfo (vgl. *Julius* 74, 3), und weiss nicht, was aus uns wird' passt meinem Gefühl nach nur, falls Einheitliches zu ergänzen ist: 'wenn er mir *nicht* die Braut herausgibt? Er ist in seiner Hoffnung unsicher geworden, weil er nichts mehr zu geben hat. So entsteht blitzschnell der Entschluss, auch auf sie zu verzichten. Der aber steht im Widerspruch zu Grimaldis, unter dem überwältigenden Eindruck seiner Leidenschaft gegebenen, Rat und dem eigenen wütenden Schwur, um jeden Preis die Herausgabe der Geliebten zu erzwingen (III, 1, Ende): 'Du verlässt mich—alles verlässt mich—Wenn Du mich wiedersiehst und ich habe sie nicht' (der letzte Satz gehört natürlich zu dem zweitvorhergehenden). Und nun bricht es, im Gedanken an das Mädchen, und beim Ausruf des verhassten Namens Ferdinando, nur auf einen Augenblick wieder hervor: 'Die Erstgeburt *und* Kamilla—und wenn du sie nicht giebst—.' Ich glaube, dass sich dies 'sie' auf beide bezieht, sonst müssten die ersten Worte aufzufassen sein nicht als Forderung, sondern einfacher Ausruf: 'der sollte nun beide haben?' Dann aber wiederum Umschwung: eben noch *Alles*, jetzt *Nichts*. 'Ich will fliehen, um der Mutter willen—will Schutz bey den Ungläubigen suchen' (vgl. *Julius* 107, 10). Auf der Flucht hört er die verhasste Stimme Ferdinandos, da brechen alle Vorsätze zusammen, er fordert wieder Braut und Erstgeburt, *ersticht den Bruder aber erst, als er aus seinem Munde den Namen der Geliebten hört:* nur *ihr* Verlust bringt ihn zur Raserei! Noch einmal kehrt dann die lang gehegte Vorstellung von dem Betruge wieder: als *Ausrede* vor der ohnmächtig am Boden liegenden Braut, der in Schmerz und Mutterliebe sich zerringenden Mutter, dem als Richter und Rächer erhoben dastehenden Vater, der mit schwerem Ernst darauf erwidert: 'Ich will dein Gewissen nicht foltern mit Aufdeckung deiner *Verblendung*.' So hat, genau wie bei Leisewitz, einzig und allein die Weigerung des Schwächern, auf das Mädchen zu verzichten, die Katastrophe herbeigeführt, nicht die fixe Idee von der Erstgeburt. Übrigens benutze ich den Text in den *Werken*, I, 1—90, Königsberg, 1815.

Lassen sich die Berichte, die wir über das Ergebnis des Hamburger Ausschreibens haben, mit solchen Ergebnissen in einen vollen Einklang bringen? *So* leicht, wie es sich der Verfasser eines Aufsatzes im *Euphorion*, XVI, 58 macht, ist es jedenfalls nicht, obwohl man seinem Standpunkt Litzmann, *Schröder*, ii, 154, gegenüber beitreten muss. Zunächst ist festzustellen, dass er gerade den Satz weglässt, der dem abgedruckten Passus aus dem Hamburger Theater unmittelbar voraufgeht, und der gewiss auch Litzmann zum Ausgangspunkt seiner abweichenden Meinung dienen konnte. Es folge darum die ganze Stelle noch einmal. 'Sonderbar wars, dass kurze Zeit aufeinander drei Trauerspiele eingesandt wurden, die alle drey den Brudermord zum Gegenstand hatten. Das erste: Die unglücklichen Brüder, war zu leer an Handlung, nicht überdacht und reif genug, obschon einige Scenen vortheilhaft und Erwartung erregend angelegt, die aber unbefriedigt blieb. Das zweite hiess: Julius von Tarent, handlungsvoll, schön dialogirt, voll Verve und Geist; alles entdeckt den Kenner der Leidenschaft, den denkenden Kopf, den Sprecher des Herzens, und kurz—den Dichter von Talenten; es war des Preises entschieden werth, bis ihm das dritte, die Zwillinge, denselben dadurch abgewann, dass es die mächtige, gewaltige Triebfeder der unentschieden gebliebenen Erstgeburt voraus hatte....' Also hart auf die Wendung 'kurze Zeit aufeinander' folgt der Satz 'das erste....' Dazu halte man nun, was oben über das 'erste Stück' gesagt worden ist: es muss wirklich das erste gewesen sein. Sein absoluter Wert war zu gering gewesen, es war alsbald zurückgegeben, ist also *a priori* abgetan. Dies ist der *eine* Anlass, warum im folgenden die, vom Standpunkt der entscheidenden Autoritäten aus gesehen, mit dem ersten Stück gar nicht zu vergleichende Gruppe von zweien nach dem Princip *ab inferiore ad superius* geordnet wird, also äusserlich angesehn mit jenem zusammen eine graduell ansteigende Linie bildet. Der andere Grund liegt oben schon angedeutet: das 'Plus' der *Zwillinge* gegenüber dem andern Stück. Der Indikativ 'es war'—wiederum sei daran erinnert, dass Schauspieler reden—hebt das Verdienst dieses letztern kräftiger hervor, als es der andere Modus vermocht hätte: ein Anerkenntnis der absoluten Bühnenfähigkeit; und konsequent nach diesem logisch anomalen, aber stilistisch bedeutsamen Indikativ ist die Konjunktion 'bis' in der Emphase nicht temporal, sondern negativ-kausal, also prohibitiv aufzunehmen, so viel als 'wenn nicht.' Indem so auf dem Raum von wenigen Zeilen *ein* Bericht *drei* für sich stehende, zeitlich auseinanderliegende, Vorgänge zusammendrängt: 1. Rückgabe des ersten Stücks, 2. Annahme der *Zwillinge* als eines

bsolut bühnenfähigen (und Mitteilung dieser Entscheidung an den Übersender), womit nach Bedingung No. 3 seine Aufführung gewährleistet war! 3. Feststellung des dritten als eines absolut genommen ebenfalls bühnenfähigen Stücks, aber Rückgabe aus Rücksicht aufs Theaterpublikum und auf finanziellen Ertrag—und indem die beiden letzten von diesen Vorgängen nach dem ordinären stilistischen Princip angeordnet werden, stellt sich ganz von selbst die Vorstellung ein, als ob es sich um eine Auswahl gehandelt habe, und damit substituiert sich für den Begriff Honorar der engere von 'Preis,' der in den drei andern Berichten, mitgeteilt u.a. *Euphorion*, XVI, 59 f., bezeichnenderweise nicht vorkommt. Man hatte eben für das ganz neue Unternehmen nicht auch schon die betreffenden technischen Ausdrücke, wie 'das Aufführungsrecht erwerben,' gefunden.

In solchem Sinne, ohne Hintergedanken, würde man die Bemerkungen im *Hamburger Theater* interpretieren, wenn man annehmen könnte oder müsste, dass sie von dem ehrlichen Schröder selbst stammten. Aber offenbar sind sie etwas ganz anderes: ein raffinierter Schriftsatz, und von Schröders Kollegen in dieser Form hergestellt, damit er den verschiedenartigsten Zwecken diene. Wie musste denn ein Unbefangener, der keine Veranlassung sah, Interpretationskünste zu üben, den Bericht aufnehmen? Doch einfach so: die drei Stücke waren kurze Zeit hintereinander angekommen; das erste wurde alsbald abgetan; das zweite war schon so gut wie angenommen: da kam das dritte und gewann den Preis; wir hatten mit der Entscheidung gewartet, und es sind beide Stücke ernsthaft und sorgfältig gegeneinander abgewogen worden. Dieser Sinn ist nun in einer Form, mit einer Geste, in einem solchen Tonfall ausgedrückt, wie sie sich immer einstellen, wenn peinliche Dinge verdeckt werden und schwache Haften die Decken halten müssen. Denn man mag über die poetischen Qualitäten der beiden Werke denken, wie man will: im Sinne des Ausschreibens, als Bühnenstück, war ohne Zweifel dasjenige, an dem sein Verfasser mehr als zwei Jahre sorgsam gearbeitet hatte, besser als das in weniger denn zwei Monaten aufs Papier geworfene, und der Ausdruck 'die *mächtige, gewaltige* Trieb*feder* der unentschieden gebliebenen Erstgeburt' charakterisiert sich schon äusserlich—von der Verschrobenheit der ganzen Wendung abgesehn—als ein Kunstgriff, der aus der Mücke einen Elephanten macht. Man fragt alsbald: Warum wurde denn nicht einfach der Tatbestand zugegeben? Nun, der war doch einigermassen blamabel. Man darf vor allem nicht vergessen, dass hier kein Mensch mehr, wie es recht gewesen wäre, *a priori*, sondern dass alle, die peinlich überraschte

Theaterleitung gewiss miteinbegriffen, *a posteriori* dachten; von diesem Standpunkt nahm sich jene Voraussage, der Fall *könne* gar nicht eintreten, merkwürdig aus, stellte sich ferner die Unterlassung der Angabe eines festen Termins, bis zu dem die Arbeiten hätten eingereicht werden müssen, als ein arger Fehler dar. Weiter scheute man sich einzugestehen, dass man auf die Art das geringere von zwei hervorragenden Bühnenwerken erworben hatte, das bessere nicht, obgleich man nur auf bessere Mittelware gerechnet hatte. Schliesslich ist auch der Gedanke an Rücksichten auf Voss nicht abzuweisen. In dieser Meinung wird man bestärkt, wenn man sich noch einmal des Ausdrucks 'kurze Zeit aufeinander' erinnert. Je nach dem Massstab, den man daranlegt, können hier Intervalle von Tagen, Wochen oder Monaten gemeint sein; aus der Distanz gesehen, wie hier, rücken die einzelnen Momente leicht enger aneinander, ziehen sich die Intervalle enger zusammen. Eine einfache Angabe der Daten, wie sie hier das Gegebene war, hätte das Manöver der trefflichen 'Freunde' unseres Dichters auch für das argloseste Auge blossgelegt.

Unter Zugabe eines freundlichen Grusses war ihm von Voss der abschlägige Bescheid des Komitees in folgender Form weitergegeben worden: das Trauerspiel sei dem Einsender wieder zuzustellen, 'weil Klingers Zwillinge, die schon vorher angenommen waren, eben den Inhalt haben[1].'' Dem widerspricht die öffentliche Bekanntmachung nur dann nicht, wenn sie wie oben interpretiert wird. Sie fügt dann aber auch noch etwas wichtiges hinzu: auch wenn sein Stück rechtzeitig angekommen wäre, hätte das an dem Resultat nichts zu ändern vermocht. Mit dieser Feststellung musste Leisewitz in jedem Fall genug haben, also auch in dem, dass er die öffentliche Berichterstattung mit der privaten nicht in Einklang zu bringen vermochte. Endlich aber hatte auch in Rücksicht auf Schröder eine befriedigende Form gefunden werden müssen. Die Meinungsverschiedenheit, die zwischen ihm und seinen Kollegen entstanden war—wir werden noch sehen, welcher Art sie gewesen—durfte in dem Bericht natürlich keine Stelle finden: hier trat die Körperschaft ja doch als solche, also geschlossen auf, der Wille der Mehrheit war Wille der Gesamtheit. Aber wenn hier einiges verschwiegen werden musste, so durfte man nicht noch weiter gehn und etwas schlechthin Unwahres in die Welt schicken. Mochten auch die meisten, wie es beabsichtigt war, den Bericht in seinem

[1] Hier hätte es doch heissen müssen: 'weil sein Stück denselben Inhalt hat wie die *Zwillinge*': es liegt also ein *lapsus linguae* vor, der die Wahrheit verrät. Der ganze Satz entspricht geradezu auffällig dem Tatbestand: trotzdem die *Zwillinge* früher da sind, haben sie doch dem *Julius* ihren Stoff entnommen.

nächstliegenden Sinn aufnehmen: einem Manne, der an pointierte, auf den Effekt bedachte Sprache gewöhnt ist, liegt im gegebenen Falle der zunächstliegende Sinn ferner und der fernere näher, vor allem wenn, wie hier, kleine Mittel die Richtung andeuten. Aber es muss auch *die* Möglichkeit ins Auge gefasst werden, dass Schröder von dem *Grunde* des Zuspätkommens damals noch gar nichts wusste, also gar nicht darauf kommen konnte, dass es hier ausser der kleinen Meinungsverschiedenheit im Schosse der entscheidenden Körperschaft und jenen Unterlassungssünden noch etwas anderes zu verbergen gab. In diesem Fall war überhaupt kein Anlass vorhanden, den Bericht zu prüfen. Alles in allem ist er ein Meisterstück der Vorsicht gewesen, weit mehr noch als das Ausschreiben. Er passte für jeden Leser, Unbefangene und Schärfersinnige, Beteiligte und Unbeteiligte, Freunde und Gegner.

Aber in dem Punkte, der für die Öffentlichkeit am wichtigsten war, liessen sich weder Publikum noch Kritiker und andere Theaterleiter belehren; sie traten mit Nachdruck für Leisewitz ein und sprachen ihre Zweifel an der Urteilsfähigkeit der Hamburger Theaterleute unverhohlen aus. Da fühlte sich denn Schröder, nachdem er schon längst durch die Aufführung des *Julius von Tarent*—allerdings erst nach dem Vorgange andrer Bühnen—einen Teil der unangenehmen moralischen Bürde abgetragen, die sich die Theaterleitung aufgeladen hatte, später veranlasst, nun für sich ein Übriges zu tun, in Bezug auf seine Person jene Zweifel nicht auf die Nachwelt kommen zu lassen; er machte andern Leuten von dem Tatbestand Mitteilung. Die beiden Berichte, die, nach Leisewitzens Tode, diese Mitteilungen bringen, ergänzen einander. Der eine, 1810 bekannt geworden, erzählt von Vossens 'Bummelei': 'Es ist dem litterarischen Publikum unerklärlich geblieben, warum Klingers Zwillinge neben Julius von Tarent den Preis erhielten. Die Beurteiler waren dabei ausser Schuld. Leisewitz hatte sein Manuskript an einen hiesigen berühmten Gelehrten geschickt, der die Abschrift mehrere Monate unter seinen hiesigen Freunden zirkuliren liess; unterdessen wurden die Zwillinge durch Goethe eingesandt und angenommen.' Hier ist allerdings noch von 'Preis' die Rede, aber im Sinne des Publikums; gleich darauf folgt der richtigere Ausdruck 'angenommen.' Der andere Bericht, 1821 gedruckt, spricht von den Vorgängen im Schosse des Theaterkomitees: 'die Stimmung bei den Richtern sei gleich von vornherein für Klingers Stück gewesen. Nur Schröder sei anderer Meinung gewesen. Er habe den vermittelnden Vorschlag gemacht, beide Stücke zu honorieren, sei aber mit seinem Gutdünken nicht durchgedrungen, und so seien die Zwillinge angenommen, weil

man sich grösseren Bühnenerfolg von ihnen versprochen habe.' Hier werden wieder ohne Rücksicht auf die zeitlichen Zwischenräume die beiden Vorgänge neben- und ineinander gerückt. 'Von vornherein' muss also bedeuten 'sobald man Klingers Stück gelesen hatte, ohne weiteres Abwarten.' Die Meinungsverschiedenheit entstand erst als das andere Stück kam. Schröder ist von seiner Trefflichkeit derartig durchdrungen, dass er ohne Rücksicht auf den vorher unbestrittenen Grundsatz, dass nur ein Stück gespielt, also auch nur eins honoriert werden könne, auch ihm wenigstens das Geld zubilligen, also nicht durch jene Bureauhintertür schlüpfen will. Die Mehrheit widerspricht und beruft sich ohne Zweifel auf die Bedingungen des Ausschreibens, nach denen die Aufführung der angenommenen und honorierten Stücke verbürgt war. Gewiss wollte man auch die hundert Taler nicht nochmal ausgeben. Der Satz 'weil man sich grösseren Bühnenerfolg von ihnen versprochen hätte' deutet wohl an, dass Schröder sofort die Möglichkeit ins Auge gefasst hatte, im Falle die Zwillinge nicht anschlügen, den Julius aufzuführen: sonst gehörte er mit dem Positiv 'grossen' statt des Komparativs 'grössern' an den Anfang des Passus, nach 'gewesen.'

Der Standpunkt Schröders war vornehmer, der seiner Kollegen formell völlig korrekt, da ein paar Fehler, die bei dem Ausschreiben vorgekommen waren, durch jene Klausel in irgendwelchen Folgen paralysiert wurden. Die Angabe, Voss habe das Leisewitz'sche Werk unter Freunden zirkulieren lassen, wird Vossischer Schwindel sein: würde sich keiner darunter gefunden haben, der zur sofortigen Übergabe des Manuskripts trieb, da in Hamburg doch sicherlich die ganze literarische Welt von den Bedingungen Kenntnis hatte? Wie hat sich schliesslich Leisewitz selbst mit dem Misserfolg abgefunden? Wenn Werners Vermutung a. a. O. IX richtig ist: dass er durch einen 'unerfreulichen Umschwung in seinen Vermögensverhältnissen, vielleicht veranlasst durch den Tod seines Vaters' getrieben worden sei, 'wie die andern Poeten, sein Boot nach der Küste des Gewinnes zu steuern,' dann muss die Nachricht, die er zusammen mit Vossens freundlichem Gruss erhielt, doppelt hart gewesen sein. Miller und Voss hatten von dem Vermögensverfall sicher nichts gewusst, im Gegenteil: der Tod von Leisewitz's Vater wird sie in ihren Überlegungen noch bestärkt gehabt haben. Was den Misserfolg an sich belangt, so ist es nicht ganz sicher, ob ihn der Betroffene mit einem oder zwei nassen Augen ansehen lernte; ob er den ihm durch Voss gewordenen Bescheid so auffasste, dass lediglich äussere Umstände dem Erfolg im Wege gestanden hätten, oder ob er sich

dazu noch die Meinung hat suggerieren lassen, sein Stück sei wirklich dem andern unterlegen gewesen. Denn der Satz, den er unterm 14. Februar 1787 in sein Tagebuch schrieb, als er die Frage hin und her überlegte, ob er sich, mit dem *Sylvesterabend*, noch einmal um einen Preis bewerben solle: 'wenn nur mein Genie gegen den Unstern aufkommen kann, der mich um den Hamburger Preis brachte,' dieser Satz kann entweder heissen: 'wenn mich nur mein guter Genius vor einem ähnlichen Zufall bewahrt' oder: 'wenn nur meine dichterische Kraft so viel fertig bringt, dass ein Konkurrenzstück nicht wieder um eine "Idee" besser ausfallen kann.' Wie dem auch sei: von der Niederträchtigkeit, die an ihm begangen war, hatte der ruhige, gerade denkende Mann keine Ahnung. Er würde sich sonst wenigstens in dem Tagebuch, das nur für sich selbst und seine Sophie angelegt war, etwas anders ausgedrückt haben. Und Schröder, der sehr bald nach dem Vorfall Leisewitzens Bekanntschaft gemacht hatte, wird ihm—wofern er selbst überhaupt schon von Vossens Vergehen Kenntnis hatte—gewiss nichts davon erzählt und umso eifriger mit ihm die Anstalten besprochen haben, die dann trotz allem zur Aufführung des *Julius* auf der Hamburger Bühne und damit, wie schon oben gesagt, zu einer gewissen Entschädigung des schmählich betrogenen Mannes führten. Was man sonst von Vossens und Millers Charakter weiss, steht mit der neuen Erkenntnis, wenn es eine solche ist, nicht im Widerspruch. Aber ich sehe zuguterletzt noch, dass zwischen Voss und Leisewitz seit des letztern Weggang von Göttingen eine Entfremdung eingetreten war (*Euphorion*, XVI, 61 oben).

Es bleiben verschiedene Fragen offen, denen ich aus Mangel an der nötigen Literatur jetzt nicht nähertreten kann. Eine davon: 'Wer ist der dritte Brudermorddramatiker gewesen?' wird sich wohl nie beantworten lassen. Wolff, dessen Aufsatz überhaupt am meisten zur Klärung der Angelegenheit beigetragen hat, bringt gewiss alle Gründe zusammen, die für Berger und seine *Galora von Venedig* sprechen; aber überzeugen können sie mich nicht. Wie der heutige Literarhistoriker bei Goedeke Umschau hält—vgl. z. B. Werner, a. a. O., XXVII, mit Goedeke², V, § 264—so musterten gewiss schon damals Dramaturgen und Theaterhistoriker die zeitgenössische Dramatik auf Stücke mit dem Namen 'die unglücklichen Brüder' hin. Wer aber mag die Möglichkeit abweisen, dass erst die Nachrichten von Hamburg das Entstehen solcher Stücke hervorgerufen hatten! Ich glaube, dass unser drittes total verschwunden ist. Hätten wirs wenigstens ohne Namen, so würde ein Stilvergleich *vielleicht* eine Neuigkeit bringen, die nach den Ergeb-

nissen dieses Aufsatzes nicht weiter zu überraschen brauchte. Man denke in der oben aufgefundenen Richtung zu Ende: in der Zeit von mehrern Wochen konnte mit dem nötigen Selbstvertraun auch ein Nichtdramatiker ein im Sinne der Ausschreibebedingungen annehmbares Bühnenstück zu machen hoffen, wenn er einen guten Stoff in Händen hatte und wo möglich schon geformt. Denn dass die 'Preisrichter' nicht gar so strenge sein würden, hatten sie selbst versprochen. Über gewisse Konsequenzen hätten, falls man auch den *Ruhm* einheimsen und seinen Namen nennen wollte, die hundert Taler hinweggetröstet. Blieb man aber anonym, dann hätte einem selbst ein reines Plagiat nicht gefährlich werden können: man hatte ja doch eine Abschrift herstellen und diese wiederum 'zirkuliren' lassen, wer wusste unter wie vielen Menschen! Vossens weitere Worte in jenem Brief an Hölty: 'Ich hab das Stück im Wirtshause, wo es mir gebracht ward, liegen lassen, weil ichs in der Eile nicht finden konnte, und vermuthete, dass es mein Stubenfreund, Prof. Fabricius, unversehens in den Koffer gekriegt hätte. Heute fahr ich nach Hamb. und erkundige mich darnach, und schicke es dann mit dem Hemde, das Hahn hier vergessen hat, an Leisewitz'—diese Worte wird man in keinem Fall für das hinnehmen als was sie sich geben, als Ausdruck seiner Nachlässigkeit, sondern als etwas sehr verschiedenes: als *gewolltes* Zeichen der Nachlässigkeit. Und in dieser Verkleidung *musste* der Voss auftreten, so wenig sie ihm stand[1].

G. Schaaffs.

St Andrews.

[1] Die Fassung der *Zwillinge* in den *Werken* differiert, wie ich nachträglich bemerke, ziemlich stark von der im *Hamburgischen Theater*,—doch nicht so, dass ich wesentliche Änderungen in den oben S. 14 f. beigegebenen Anmerkungen vorzunehmen hätte. Vielleicht steht sogar die Fassung der *Werke* derjenigen, die nach Hamburg geschickt war, näher als die erstmalig veröffentlichte. Es müsste ferner mit der Möglichkeit gerechnet werden, dass die Ähnlichkeiten mit *Julius von Tarent* erst nachtraglich in das Stück hineingebracht sind. Aber der Kern meiner Ausführungen würde in keinem Fall berührt werden. Sehr merkwürdig ist in Klingers *Theater*, Bd. 1, Riga, 1786, die Angabe: 'Die Zwillinge.....*von* 1774,' was in den *Werken*, 1815, 1, 1, in noch präciserer Form wiederholt ist: 'Nach der *ersten Ausgabe von* 1774.....' Der Abdruck im *Hamburgischen Theater* hätte wohl eher den Namen 'erster Druck' verdient, die im Katalog der Deneke'schen Sammlung, 643, verzeichnete Ausgabe ist ein Nachdruck. Bedenkt man dass Klinger, *Werke*, 1, 1, behauptet, dass ihm die erste Ausgabe von 1774 bei der Redaktion neben dem *Theater* (Riga) vorgelegen habe, dass ferner nur bei diesem Stücke solche 'genauen' Angaben gemacht werden, obwohl sie bei den andern ebenso nötig gewesen wären, so wird man mit einem weitern Argument für die Wahrscheinlichkeit des oben Seite 14, Zeile 3 bis 15 gesagten rechnen müssen: Klinger hätte dann die Fiktion von der Erstgeburt seines Stückes noch vierzig Jahre später aufrecht erhalten! Jedenfalls bedarf auch dies Stück dringend eingehenderer Untersuchung.

AN ITALIAN VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF ST MARGARET.

From a Brera Manuscript.

The legend of the virgin saint of Antioch can be traced back to the ninth and tenth centuries, and from this date onwards it spread to all Christian countries[1]. I shall not attempt here to give a list of the MSS. containing the legend, as many of them, and the most important ones, although by no means all, have already received attention: moreover, the articles by Spencer[2] and the little book by Wiese[3] supply material enough to make one realise the enormous diffusion of this legend during the later Middle Ages.

In Italy the legend appeared in five principal versions: (*a*) a prose translation of a Latin text, which has been published from slightly varying MSS. by Manni[4], Ferrato[5] and Ceruti[6]; this version exists in an almost infinite number of MSS.[7]: (*b*) a Lombard version which has

[1] A sketch of the development of the legend was given by Frederic Spencer, *The Legend of St Margaret* (*Modern Language Notes*, iv (1889), pp. 197—201).

[2] In addition to the introductory article just referred to, Spencer has published two Franco-Norman texts in *Modern Language Notes*, v (1890), pp. 71—75; 107—111.

[3] *Eine altlombardische Margarethenlegende*, herausgegeben von Berthold Wiese. Halle, 1890.

[4] A. M. Manni, *Vite di Santi e Sante in aggiunta al volgarizzamento delle Vite de' Santi Padri.* Florence, 1734, iii, pp. 127—141.

[5] Pietro Ferrato, *Leggenda di S. Margherita Vergine Martire*, Testo inedito del buon secolo, Venice, 1867.

[6] Ab. Antonio Ceruti, *Leggenda di S. Margherita Vergine Martire* (from an Ambrosian MS.) in *Propugnatore*, iii, ii (1870), pp. 178—191.

[7] Percopo, in his introduction to the texts referred to below, has drawn attention to a number of MSS. containing the Italian prose text (pp. lvi f.), but this list could easily be augmented; thus in the *Riccardiana* library there are no less than fifteen MSS. of this legend (see Salomone Morpurgo, *I Manoscritti della Reale Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, *Manoscritti italiani*, Rome, 1900, Nos. 1258, 1286, 1288, 1290, 1294 and 2760, 1341, 1355, 1386, 1406, 1408, 1498, 1658, 1661, 1700; No. 1472 contains the metrical version published by Manni, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 142 ff.); and almost every important library contains several MSS. Spencer, *l.c.*, v, pp. 198—200, and Wiese, *l.c.*, pp. iv—v, mention versions of this legend in languages other than Italian. In addition to these, a Provençal version was found in an Ashburnham (Laurenziana) MS. by P. Meyer (*Romania*, xiv, p. 485); it was discussed by G. Bertoni, *Noterelle Provenzali*, in *Revue des langues romanes*, xlvi

been edited by Wiese[1]; (*c*) a South Italian version in strophes of four lines, edited by Percopo[2]; (*d*) a mediaeval 'mistero' edited by D'Ancona[3]; (*e*) a 'cantare' edited by Zambrini[4]. The version which I am printing here belongs by its form to the fifth class, but it is quite independent of the poem edited by Zambrini. Wiese himself, after publishing his book, investigated two other MSS. of the Lombard text, which belong respectively to the Trivulzio library[5] and to the British Museum[6]. The latter, a Harley MS., is mainly interesting on account of its numerous illuminations. It is not, however, the only MS. adorned with contemporary illustrations: codex A of Wiese[7] has also a number of miniatures; so also had a MS. in the Ducal Library of Pavia, which, as far as may be judged from the first line, belonged to the class of codd. CEH of Wiese. It is described as follows: 'Num. 926. Liber passionis sancte Malgarite parve forme, historiatus, copertus veluto rubeo cum duabus clavetis argenti, sine clavis[8].' This MS., which is probably lost, must have been a beautifully written copy, destined presumably for some fair Duchess of Milan, who in certain circumstances, was fain

(1903), pp. 249 ff. and published in the same journal, xlvi (1903), pp. 545 ff. by Chickmarev (as *Vie provençale de Sainte Marguerite*), who gives some useful references. While I was revising the proofs, Professor Novati called my attention to the book by K. Zwierzina, *Die Legende der heil. Margareta*, I Band, *Die älteste Überlieferung*, but I could not avail myself of this work. He has also pointed out to me an article by P. Meyer, *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. Nationale*, xxxiii, 1e partie, pp. 19—22, in which the French savant describes yet another French version of the 13th or 14th century, by Fouque.

[1] Wiese, *l.c.*, pp. 1—66.

[2] *Quattro Poemetti sacri dei secoli XIV e XV*, publicati per la prima volta e illustrati da Erasmo Percopo (*Scelta di curiosità letterarie*, disp. ccxi, pp. 147—180), Bologna, 1885.

[3] A. D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*, Florence, ii, pp. 123 ff. Dr Levi has drawn my attention to another early 'rappresentazione' in the *Riccardiana* library, Edizioni rare, No. 269, Miscell. No. 42 (Rappresentazioni sacre e profane) under the heading 'Leggenda et oratione | de Sancta Margherita Ver|gine et martyre hy|storiata et no vamente | stampata et ricorrecta.' In Perotia p. Hieronymo d. Francesco cartolaio (s. a.).

[4] Francesco Zambrini, *Leggenda di Santa Margherita Vergine e Martire in ottava rima*, in *Propugnatore*, III, ii (1870), pp. 413—433. This poem, however, as Wiese has pointed out (p. xl), had already been printed during the fifteenth century, a copy of it being in the Ambrosian Library (*S. Q. Q.* III, 53) and another—as I am able to add by the courtesy of Dr Ezio Levi—in the *Riccardiana* (Edizioni rare, *E.* III, 270). The latter copy was in Lami's days bound up in a miscellany of MSS. and prints marked O. IV. XXXV (Lami, *Catal. codd. Ricc.*, p. 234), hence Wiese (p. xl) took it to be a MS. The MSS. contained in the miscellany now form cod. 1709. Finally, another old edition with some variations and containing 63 stanzas, is in the Casanatense Library (O. II. 106), and has been described by Molteni in *Giornale di filologia romanza*, II, pp. 90—91.

[5] B. Wiese, *Die Trivulzianische Handschrift der Margarethenlegende*, in *Zeitschrift für Roman. Phil.*, xvi, pp. 230 ff.

[6] B. Wiese, *Zur Margarethenlegende, ein Bruchstück aus dem Cod. Harley 5347*, in *Abhandlungen A. Tobler gewidmet*, Halle, 1895, pp. 124 ff. Another MS. is in the Columbina Library of Seville (see *Studi di Filologia Romanza*, ii, pp. 271 ff.), and yet another is mentioned by Prof. Crescini, *Ignoto Manoscritto di uno dei poemi italiani sopra S. Margherita*, Padua, 1898. I have not, however, been able to see this work.

[7] *L.c.*, pp. li ff.

[8] D'Adda, *Indagini sulla Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca*, p. 84.

to seek the protection of the virgin saint, as we know various princesses of the royal family of France have done most devoutly[1].

The present 'cantare' exists only in a single MS. (Br.), which belongs to the Brera Library of Milan[2], and dates from the fifteenth century. There might be little excuse for publishing it were it similar to the texts in stanzas of eight lines already published; but the text published by Zambrini contains 69 stanzas and the print in the Ambrosian Library 61, whereas our 'cantare' consists of as many as 92 stanzas. This fact clearly points to its independence of either of the previously known versions of this class. A mere glance at Zambrini's poem[3] shows that it is a genuine Tuscan 'cantare,' freely elaborated from the Latin prose text published by Mombritius and reprinted by Wiese[4], or from one of the Italian prose translations made from the Latin, so that it is hardly necessary to compare it with Br., which, as I shall endeavour to prove, was more likely composed by a Lombard who strove to write in the literary language. At the end of the legend there is a somewhat singular statement: 'Explicit oratio virginis Margarite in modum tuschum,' words which obviously refer to the metre of the poem, not to the language in which it was written. Lombard metrical forms down to the first twenty-five or thirty years of the fifteenth century were closely akin to French forms; consequently the stanza of eight lines was considered in Lombardy a foreign form, and we may well understand that any scribe and especially such a scribe as Sachelli (who followed the profession of wandering minstrel and pretended to be a poet himself), would call attention to the peculiarity of the work he was penning. It is superfluous to add that the 'ottava' was occasionally employed by Lombard poets, but in doing so, they were conscious of introducing into their province a metre that was to some extent foreign. The fittingness of the phrase 'in modum tuschum' will be better appreciated if we bear in mind that the author of our legend was undoubtedly acquainted with the old Lombard poem dealing with the passion of St Margaret. We shall in fact see that there are a number of passages which testify to much more than an accidental connection between Br. and W.

[1] F[elix] S[oleil], *La vierge Marguerite substituée à la Lucine antique*, Paris, 1885, pp. 30, 33 *et passim*.

[2] Biblioteca Nazionale di Brera, cod. AD, XVI, 20, 'Sachelli Bartolomeo, Zibaldone autografo di più e diverse materie,' sec. xv in., 299 ff. The legend occupies ff. 3^{A}—5^{A}, each in two columns. My attention was called to this MS. years ago by Professor Novati; to whom I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness for a number of suggestions as well as for a recent collation of my copy with the MS.

[3] See also Wiese, *l.c.*, pp. xxxix—xli.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. vi—xviii.

Concerning the scribe of the MS. I am unable to say much; I regret that I did not examine with greater care and patience all the contents of the bulky miscellany, as they might have offered some clue to the identity of Sachelli. However, the worthy Bartolomeo Sachelli, who styled himself 'frotulista mediolanensis' and dabbled in poetry, would no doubt have vaunted his authorship of our legend, had he had the slightest claim to do so. And since Sachelli did not ascribe the poem to anyone, we may safely assume his ignorance concerning this point. It is not quite so certain that Sachelli is not responsible for the inscription at the end of the legend. It is, of course, just as likely that he found these words in the copy which lay before his eyes, as that he added them. But we ought to remember that this MS. was written by Sachelli, as he informs us in the first page, for his own use: 'Sum Bartolomei de Sachellis frotuliste mediolanensis.' The wide diffusion of the legend renders it quite possible for Sachelli to have been acquainted with the usual Lombard versions of it, but it is still more probable that the author, who certainly knew one of the MSS., W., should have emphasized the peculiar characteristic of his work as much as to say, 'a legend of St Margaret, but in a new metre, in Tuscan metre.' However this may be, we are indebted for the preservation of the work to Sachelli who deemed it worthy to be included in the anthology of a fifteenth century *jongleur*.

Sachelli is not a faultless scribe, but he is no worse than most of his contemporaries; he does not, at least, seem to have been addicted to making additions to the works he was copying, so that I should, on the whole, be inclined to say that the inscription was transcribed with the rest of the legend[1]. For the same reason we may *a priori* set aside the theory that Sachelli himself gave a Tuscan text a Lombard colouring, since whenever his text is indisputably Tuscan we fail to trace any appreciable dialectical difference. Besides being probably a Lombard himself, the author of Br. made extensive use of the widely distributed Lombard text W. The subject matter and a very considerable number of verbal expressions in Br. are drawn from W., while others were taken from a prose text, probably that printed by Mombritius (M.). A closer examination of the poem will make this point quite clear.

[1] There are of course no indications of autography in this part of the MS.; on the contrary, the corrections at ll. 20—24; the addition in the marginal space of ll. 60 and 123; the corrections of a few words like *linagio*, l. 164; *ela*, l. 166; *segno*, l. 350; *quela*, l. 414; *perdonati*, l. 679; and finally the substitution of *humiltate* for *verginitate* in l. 308, and the subsequent correction, all show, together with other indirect indications, that Sachelli was copying from another MS.

It begins with an introductory stanza (1—8) which is independent of either of the above mentioned sources. The sole interest lies in the mention of St Ursula, which, if we knew more of the author, might help us to some extent to locate his birth-place, since it is possible that St Ursula was the patron saint of his town. Yet too much stress should not be laid on this point, both by reason of the great fame enjoyed by this saint in the Middle Ages, and because it may be reasonably supposed that the minstrels who recited the poem took care, after the manner of their class, to introduce in this verse the name of the patron saint of the city in which they happened to exercise their profession. M. has quite a different introduction and so has W., but three of the MSS. collated by Wiese, which in his edition are designated by the letters C, E and H[1] and which form a special group, begin with the words:

Ognomo jntenda e staga jn paxe
Chi uolle vdir d'un sermon ueraxe.

These are almost exactly reproduced in Br. ll. 9—10:

Pertanto ogni hom intenda e stia in pace,
Chi vuol aldir[e] d'un sancto sermone,

so that from the very beginning we realise that the author of Br. probably availed himself of a MS. belonging to the group CEH. Line 11 recalls W., 41:

D'una legenda molto bella.

Lines 12—16 do not give us any special information and are merely an anticipation of what is to follow. We learn, however, the name of the saint, as in W., 46. M. p. vii, l. 9 tells us also that Margaret was specially graced from her birth, 'Illa autem spiritu sancto repleta mox ut nata est,' Br., 17—18 says:

A Dio multo fuo fidele e francha
E fuo del Spirto Sancto illuminata;

like W. 43—44,

Che molto fo feela a De'
E Spirto Sancto fo en le'.

Lines 18—20 form a eulogy of the maiden's religion, in amplification of W.; l. 21, however, could hardly be understood did not W. afford us the key to its meaning:

E si lege, si la lege non mancha.

[1] Cp. Wiese, *op. cit.*, pp. lviii—lxviii. The MSS. forming group CEH are C, cod. Marc., class ital., ix, 142 (15th cent.); E, Vindob., 2661 (15th cent.); H, Ambros., S. 95, sup. (anno 1429).

It indicates that we may read, if we know Latin, as W. 48—49:

E la scritura lo manefesta
Al dir de qui' che leçer sa.

M., vii, 8—9 acquaints us with the country and family of Margaret: 'erat Theodosii filia qui gentilium erat patriarcha & idola adorabat,' but the source of Br., 22—23:

Che d' un gentil pagano la fuo nata,
D' un Patriarca nobile e possente

is again W., 50—51:

Ela fo fiia d' un pagan
D' un gentilisimo patriarcha.

W. is thus responsible for the rather peculiar interpretation of the Latin text. Again the idolatry of this patriarch (Br. 24—26) is drawn from W., 57—58 or 64—66. Like Margaret's father the Emperor Olibero was also a heathen. Now the name of this Roman magistrate is generally Olibero in our version, Oliberus in M., and usually Olinbrio in the various MSS. of W. Yet the first time that this name appears in Br. (l. 40) we find it as 'il libero Imperatore,' this corresponds with H of W. which, instead of l. 68, has the following:

E lo libero Imperadore;

it occasionally repeats the name in this form, which however occurs only once in Br.

After enlarging on the blind faith which the Emperor shows for 'Macometto' (ll. 32—40), our poem tells us that Margaret was entrusted to a nurse living fifteen days' distance from Antioch. In M. we are told much the same, but the child is given to a nurse because her mother is dead, while this fact is omitted both by W. and by Br. Wiese has rightly pointed out some verbal likeness between M., vii, 10—12 and W., 75—82, but the following comparison between these passages and Br., 41 and 47—48, will show that Br. depends on W.:

M., vii, 10. Lata est in quandam ciuitatem stadiis quindecim ab Antiochia distantem. Susceperat eam nutrix, ut nutriretur. Mortua autem matre beatae Margaritae ampliori desyderio nutricis tenebatur....

W., 75—82. Or digem dela fantina,
Denfin k' el' era picinina,
Como la mare la tramiso
A una soa norigariso,
Ke lla deueua norigar
E amonir e castigar.
Ma si staua quindex çornae
Fora lonçi da la citae.

Br., 41. Or cominciamo dela sancta dona.
47—48. Lontano fuor[i] da quella citate
Conme si trova quindeci giornate.

M. has only later a passing reference to the persecution of the Christians, but Br., 49—56, explains that the nurse lived so far from the town in order to escape this danger, exactly as W., 85—88:

Vnd' ella auea gran paor
De Olinbrio l' enperaor,
Ke perseguia li Cristian
Per li monti e per li plan.

Br., 49. Per gran paura del Imperatore
50. Che persequiva li buon Christiani...
54. Non potean(o) habitar(e) monti nen plani.

Margaret is represented by Br. (57—64) as watching the sheep in words clearly recalling those of W.,

Br., 60. Ad un bel prato conm' el' iera usata

W., 95. Or staua quella en un bel pra'.

Br., 61—62. Ad guardar caprete e pegorsella
Di sua nutrice, una matutinata.

W., 91—94. E Margarita era usata
Andar ognuncha maitinata
A guardar pegore e berbis
De questa soa norigaris.

(The MS. B of W. has *matutinata* instead of *maitinata.*) The horsemen accompanying Olibero are not described in M., but if we set the lines of W. in the order of the MS. H[1], there is a clear parallelism between W. and Br.

Br., 65—72. In mezo di quella cavalaria
Veniva lo malvaxio senza fede;
Conti, marchexi e altra cavalaria
In sua (gran) conpagna la poncella vede,
Che dila magistra ci(vi)tà venia
Per far oratione senza mercede
E per destruere tuta quella gente,
Che adoravan[o] Christo omnipotente.

W., 100—108. E una grand chaualaria, 100
Et en meço logo de lor 103
Era Olimbrio enperator, 104
Sì trauersaua da radent 101
Conti e marchixi e altra çent, 102
Che uegnia da la cità,
Per adorar la uanità
E per destruer l' altra çent,
Che no fasea lo somegent.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. lix and 6.

In M., viii, 7—8, the admiration of Oliberus for the maiden is very briefly described; W., 109—118, dramatises the scene in the same way as Br., 73—80, though Br., 81—88, adds a speech of the messengers.

The message of the Emperor is somewhat curtailed in Br., 89—96. The servants are merely ordered to go with the greatest speed to Margaret and tell her that Olibero finds her so charming that he wishes to make her his Empress. Now this message in M., viii, 9—13, is two-fold, as Oliberus is only ready to marry her provided she is born free; were she a slave she would have to follow him as a slave. W., 119—130, explains this alteration, because there the Emperor says that, were she a slave, he would have power enough to free her and marry her.

The next scene brings us to the first notable difference between W. and Br. In M., where we pass at once to Margaret's prayer (Br. 120—136), this episode is not to be found; W., 137—174, introduces in its place a charming scene. Margaret is spinning; her friends resist the offensive pretensions of the Emperor's messengers. Br., 97—105, is thus in agreement with M., in so far as it does not mention the quarrel, but it introduces a short speech of the messengers (103—104), which does not stand in relation to anything in W.

Nevertheless in the next lines (Br., 105—112) describing Margaret's fear, we find expressions which are clearly an echo of some in W.:

Br., 105—108. Quando la donna fuo di lor accorta,
Ella fuo sì fortemente stermitta,
Che nella facia quasi parsi morta,
Così lieve fuo(la) dil sangue smarrita.

W., 141—144. Quand' ella de llor fo acorta,
De, com' ella deuene smorta! (BEH: morta)
E sì aue sì gran tremor
Ch' el no ge romas de sangue adosso. (H)

The long prayer in M., viii, 15—26, is considerably abridged in W.; Br., 113—128, gives the prayer in a different form from either, though retaining some verbal expressions. The concluding words of the distressed maiden, amplified from the Latin 'Ecce facta sum sicut passer in raetibus comprehensa & sicut piscis in hamo' are very similar in Br., 129—132, and in W., 191—193.

W., 191—193. E se per ti no sun defessa,
Vete, Meser, cum eo sun presa
Sì cum lo pexo a l' ameçol.

Br., 129—132. Ch' io son[o] conme passer alla rete,
E conme pesso all' amo son prexa,
Cossì son io, se non me socurrete,
E si per vui, Signor, non son diffexa.

It is however noteworthy that there is no mention in W. of the sparrow caught in the net, while Br. as well as M. refer to it. This comparison, which occurs at the end of the prayer in Br. and in M., appears in the middle of it in W. The last line of the prayer is identical in both poetical versions:

Br., 136. Dixi: 'Signor, ad vuy m' aricomendo.'
W., 210. 'A ti me rendo e me comando.'

The effect of this prayer on the messengers is similarly described in Br., 137—144, and in W., 213—216:

Br., 137—139. Quando li messagi[eri] dil mal fare
Hebeno intexo la sancta oratione,
Non se volsero lì (già) più dimorare,
Br., 141. Ma subito la curseno (ad) accusare....

W., 213—216. Li mesaçer ke era lì,
Quand i lla uit orar così,
No stete plu nè demorà,
Ma çe al re e sì l' acusà.

The return of the messengers to Olibero and their words (145—152) are put in direct form in Br., as well as in M., viii, 26—29, while W., 217—220, prefaces the speech of the messengers by an angry outburst of Olinbrio; the reply of the messengers to him appears at first in indirect speech (221—227) and only later is directly spoken (228—236). The comparison of the following passages will give a clear idea of the mutual relationship between Br., W., and M.:

M., viii, 27. Domine, puella illa non est serviens diis nostris, sed Christum precat quem iudei crucifixerunt.

Br., 149. Ançi se volse verso orïente.

W., 177. Leua le man uers orïente.

Br., 151—152. Cominciando adorar quel crucifixo
Qual fuo per li Iudei auciso.

W., 245—246. Quel crucifiso ke un dis
Ke 'l pouol di Çuei ancis.

The feelings of the Emperor and his orders which are briefly summed up in a sentence by M., viii, 29—30, are in Br., 153—160, developed strictly on the model of W., 257—261, e.g.:

Br., 153—154. Quando lo iniquo chane Imperatore
Have quella responsïone intexa.

W., 257—258. Quand Olinbrio l' auo entes,
De iniquità el fo sì pres.

Br., 160. Quel chane che no se potia alegrare.

W., 259. K' el no se poeua alegrar.

The questions put by the Emperor to the maiden and her replies are separated from one another in M., viii, 30—40, while in W., 263—292, they are grouped together round three direct questions, and in Br., 161—168, they are together but narrated indirectly; verbal similarities are frequent, e.g.:

Br., 164.	Dil suo linagio e dov' era nata.
W., 264—265.	O' tu nasisi o en qual terra Che sauer uoi' lo to legnaço.
Br., 168.	Humil[e]mente con benigna vose.
W., 268.	Nutriamentre e en plana uos. (But CEH: Vmelmente.)

The above remarks apply also to the following lines of Br. (169—184). Some of the verbal parallels are:

Br., 174.	In Antiochia nata ad ver dire.
W., 277—278.	Sì fo nati de uerità D' Antioxia la cità.
Br., 177.	Dixi lo 'mperatore: 'Or me di' vero...'
W., 279.	Respond lo re: 'Or me di' uer...'
Br., 183—184.	Che se lasciò per noy crucificare Ad l' uhumana generation(e) salvare.
W., 289—291.	K' el se laxà marturïar Per defender e per scanpar (But CEH: redimer e salvare.) La generacïon humana.

Margaret is now ordered to prison (Br., 185—192). The course of events is identical with that in M., viii, 41—43, whereas W., 292—364, adds a long disputation between Margaret and Olinbrio. A goodly number of these verses are omitted in group CEH, but on the whole the author of Br. must have kept in view the succession of events as described in M. The general tone of Br., 185—192, seems an echo of W., 365—369.

Again, Br., 193—200, describing Olibero's entrance into the city and his religious observances, introduces a scene which in M., viii, 44—45, follows immediately upon the preceding one, while W. adds a few more particulars (371—378), omitted in CEH. I refrain from adducing other verbal points of contact between the various versions, such as M., viii, 44; W., 379—380; Br., 194, 196; W., 383—397, as they do not offer any help in the determination of the sources.

The next morning Oliberus summons Margaret before him; 'venit et sedit pro tribunali' says M., ix, 1, words which were expanded in W., 392—394, though CEH substitute for this passage a single line:

En so palaxio montà el re.

This line appears in W. further on (l. 888) and is certainly much nearer to Br., 202:

Olib(e)ro fuo nel palatio montato.

But the next line, 203,

Suoi consiglieri havia lì presente,

is not based on anything in W.; it must have been suggested by 'sedit pro tribunali.'

Olinbrio's speech entreating the maiden to have pity upon herself is much developed in W., 395—426, so that, even taking into consideration that in CEH, ll. 417—426 are missing and that the speech is a little shorter, none of the MSS. of W. have such serious claims to be the source of Br., 205—208, as M.

M., ix, 2—3. miserere tuae pulchritudini et teneritati tuae, magis autem consenti mihi...

Br., 205—206. ...Or mi consente
Non voler(e) ch' el tuo corpo sia disfato...

Margaret's reply (Br., 209—216) seems independent of M. and W.; the substance of what she says is similar in all versions, but it is difficult to decide which was the source of Br. The Emperor now stands up and orders Margaret to abandon the Christian faith threatening her with a cruel death (Br., 217—224). The words of Oliberus in M., ix, 10—14, convey the same meaning, but the Emperor does not rise from his seat in pronouncing them, while in W. there is a further determination of time 'anço k' el uegna sera,' which does not exist in Br. In group CEH, W., 459, follows immediately upon W., 257, and they seem the source of:

Br., 217—218. Alor fuo lo 'mperatore iniquo
E subito fuo in pie[di] levato.

W., 258. De iniquità el fo sì pres
W., 459. E fo pur quel in pe' saiuto.

It is however noteworthy that in group CEH, ll. 455—458 containing Olinbrio's threat of death are not to be found in this place but earlier in the poems, after W., 362, at the first interview of Olinbrio with Margaret. Olibero now orders the maiden to be stripped and beaten (Br., 233—240). This order is given in an indirect form in Br. as well as in M., ix, 18—20, but M. does not say that the maiden was stripped, while this is repeated in Br., 236, from W., 467 and 475—76. Besides the direct order from Olinbrio W. adds a description of Margaret's sufferings (464—484). Br. has lost much of the vivacity of W. but there is more in it than could have been drawn from M.

The prayer of the saint during her torture (Br., 241—248) is independent of W., 487—511, but it is clearly based on M., ix, 21—27.

Br., 243. Speranza soprana mia.

M., ix, 21. In te, domine, speraui.

Br., 247—248. Tramitteme quella duolce fontana
Che queste plaghe conforta e sana.

M., ix, 27. Sed mitte ros sanitatis ut mitigentur plagae meae.

W. having described the sufferings of the maiden at ll. 482—484, before she began to pray, does not dwell on them here, so that the order of events in Br., 249—256, is obviously drawn from M., ix, 28—30, rather than from W. The maiden's sufferings cause some of the onlookers to urge her to yield to the Emperor (Br., 257—264). In W., 515—530, the sympathy of the onlookers is not recorded and the advice to surrender is given by one of the henchmen; M., ix, 32—37, is, in both these points in agreement with Br. In fact, 'alghuni gli dicia' (l. 259) is a translation of 'dicebant quidam ex eis' (ix, 33). Margaret rebukes her advisers violently (Br., 265—272); she employs the singular in her speech, whereas the plural would have been more correct, but the same mistake occurs in some of the MSS. of W.

Br., 265. O perfido e malvaxio consigliero...
267. Assai di meglior me ne fa mistiero
Qual i' ò bene nel mio chuor pigliato

are almost identical with W., 535—538:

O soço conseier maluas,
Meior conseio mester me fas,
E pur cotal cum e' ò pres...

On the contrary Br., 271—272:

Sapi [che] se 'l mio corpo ha tormento
L' anima legreza hav(e)rà in conpimento

recall the words of M., ix, 42: 'Per ista corporum tormenta animae saluae inueniuntur.' The subsequent advice of the saint to the people (Br., 273—288) is a paraphrase of M., ix, 42—44, more particularly ll. 277—278. M., ix, 45—x, 5, is also the source of the saint's angry words to Oliberus (Br., 281—288), concerning which see Wiese's remarks[1].

Br., 281—282. O tristo chane pleno de nequitia,
L' op[e]ra di Sathan, tuo patre, servi.

M., ix, 46. Tu facis opera patris tui Sathanae, o audax canis & impudens.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

Then Olibero's anger rises again and he orders a new torture for the maiden. This passage has been omitted by W.[1]; it is an elaboration from M., x, 5—6.

After a short reflection on the cruelty of human hearts (Br., 297—302) Br. inserts a long prayer by the saint (Br., 303—320), which was evidently suggested by M., x, 6—18. A few quotations will prove this:

Br., 303.	...Or son da cani circundata.
M., x, 7.	Circumdederunt me canes multi.
Br., 311.	Tramitteme la columba dal cielo.
M., x, 12.	Transmitte mihi columbam de caelo.

Compare also Br., 306—310, with M., x, 9—11, and Br., 313—320, with the following:

(M., x, 13—17). ...ut immaculatam tibi obseruem uirginitatem meam et dimicem contra aduersarium meum faciae ad faciem et uideam deiectum inimicum meum qui mecum pugnat....Vincam eum et dem fidutiam omnibus uirginibus confidere...

Curiously enough Br., 319:

Per dar all' altre vergin(e) tal fidutia

recalls W., 413:

Per darte termen e enduxia

where 'enduxia' rhymes with 'feduxia,' while 'fidutia' rhymes here with 'indutia.'

While Margaret is engrossed in her prayer, the sight of her torture is so distressing that Olibero and all the onlookers cover their eyes, (Br., 321—328). This scene is likewise described in M., x, 19—21, and in W., 557—566, but the latter gives more particulars, and Br. is clearly derived from M., e.g.:

Br., 328.	E così facean(o) l' altri totti quanti.
M., x, 21.	Itidem caeteri faciebant.

Apart from one considerable addition (ll. 575—586) and a few minor ones after l. 594, which are not in all the MSS., W. bases the next speech of Olinbrio on M., x, 21—26, as has been pointed out by Wiese[2]; nevertheless, so far as the subject matter is concerned, Br., 329—336 follows even more faithfully than W., the Latin prose. Knowing how often the author of Br. availed himself of W., we cannot be surprised at finding Br., 336:

Ad (mala) morte te farò portar[e] stento,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. xxv. [2] *Ibid.*, p. xxv.

modelled on W. (C.), 634:

E chon gran stenti la farò penare.

Margaret's reply (Br., 337—344) is an almost literal reproduction of M., x, 26—30, but the author of Br. also did not forget W., 604—614, e.g.:

Br., 340. Non mi caglia s' io son martirizata.

W., 607—608. ...nè no me i cal
S' eo façe mort corporal.

The second imprisonment of the maiden (Br., 345—352) is much amplified in W., 615—645, but Br. keeps to M., x, 30—33; e.g.:

Br., 349—350. Et intrando in quel luoco smarrito
Dil segno dila croce se fuo armata.

M., x, 32—33. Ipsa uero introiens consignauit corpus suum signaculo Christi...

The first of Margaret's prayers in her prison (Br., 353—368) is shortly recorded in W., 657—660, but Br. is taken almost word for word from M., x, 34—xi, 3; e.g.:

Br., 353—354. 'Signor Dio, chi la scientia ordinasti,
Per la qual tuto 'l mondo è in timore...'

M., x, 34—35. 'Deus, qui iudicium sapientiae decreuisti, quem contremiscunt omnia saecula...'

Br., 366. Non esser contra me corrutiato.

M., x, 43. Noli mihi irasci...

Ticino and the nurse keep watch by the imprisoned maiden (Br., 369—376). This passage is again entirely derived from M., xi, 3—6, since in W. there is no mention of Ticino, and the nurse appears in this version in a more emotional light (W., 361—378). Also the description of the dragon (Br., 377—384) depends entirely on M., xi, 7—11; W. mentions the dragon twice, once before it appears (ll. 651—656) and again in ll. 679—700.

Br., 384. E per sua spada una serpa tenia,

must have been due to an omission in the MS. of M. used by the author of Br. or to an oversight, since M., xi, 11—12, reads: 'Super collum eius erat serpens. Gladius candens in manu eius uidebatur....' The attack of the dragon and Margaret's terror (Br., 385—400) are chiefly drawn from M., xi, 12—16. M., however, says no more of the maiden's pallor than 'facta est ut haerba pallida,' while

Br., 399—400. E (cos)sì palida par ch' ela venisse
Comme herba [verde] quando la marcisse,

shows some recollection of W., 723 (see note to text, v. 400).

At this juncture the poet blunders badly in his translation,

Br., 398. Quasi per morta se lasciò cadere

being based on 'formido mortis cecidit super eam.' The words of l. 397,

...secondo di lei [io] so trovare

might serve as extenuation, were such an expression not a commonplace among the minstrels of the time. Also the lines Br., 393—394, recall W., 722.

The process of 'materialisation' of which Maury speaks[1] is clearly exemplified in the following passage (Br., 401—408). W. does not mention the forgetfulness of the maiden, but both W. and Br. miss or overlook the cause of the dragon's appearance, which is clearly shown in M., xi, 16—17: 'Oblita enim erat a pauore quia dominus exaudisset orationem eius. Propter quod dixerat: "Demonstra mihi, deus, qui mecum pugnat."' The source is plainly indicated by the latinism 'oblita' in l. 406. The prayer of the maiden which is omitted in W., is briefly recorded in Br., 407—408, whereas it is given at length in M., xi, 19—28; the description of the swallowing up of the saint (Br., 409—416) is taken literally from M., xi, 28—31; W., 725—732 is freer.

Br., 416. Sì la transgluttì quasi sospirando

M., xi, 31. ...et suspirans deglutiuit eam.

M., xi, 31—34, is the source of the following passage dealing with the deliverance of the maiden, both in W., 735—748, and in Br., 417—424; but the two poetical versions are independent of each other; Br. carefully follows M., e.g.:

Br., 417—420. Ma la cruoce de Dio, quel sancto signo
Che la sancta donzela havia fatto,
Fuo cresciuta nel corpo dil maligno
Dracone....

M., xi, 31—32. Sed crux Christi quam sibi fecerat beata Margarita creuit in ore draconis...

The maiden now discovers a demon in the corner of her prison who has his hands tied to his knees and once again she turns her mind to prayer. Br., 425—432, carefully follows M., xi, 35—37. The position 'habensque manus ad genua colligata' (Br. 429) is overlooked in W., which also abridges the prayer (ll. 753—760), while Br., 433—456, draws

[1] Alfred Maury, *Croyances et légendes du moyen-âge*, 2me éd. Paris, 1876, pp. 134—136, 234—238 and *passim*.

continuously from M., xi, 37—xii, 9. Almost every line of Br. may be traced back to some expression in M.; e.g.:

Br., 439. ...io vedo florida la mia fede.
M., xi, 41. Nunc fidem meam florentem uidi...
Br., 441. Vedo Rufone in terra abatuto...
M., xi, 42. Uidi Rufonem daemonem in terra prostratum...
Br., 449. La mia columba col disio aspetto...
M., xii, 2. ...expecto columbam meam hilarem ad me uenientem.

The scene where the demon is shown entreating Margaret's mercy, is rearranged in W., 759—769, (for instance, the demon does not hold her hand), while M., xii, 9—11 contains exactly the same elements that were utilised at greater length in Br., 457—464. Also the confession of the demon is much closer to M., xii, 11—16, in Br., 465—480, than in W., 770—790. Margaret has no patience with her tempter; she throws him down and puts her foot on his throat (Br., 481—496). W., 759—768, has entirely recast this episode, which, as Wiese remarks (p. LXIV), is altogether missing from the MSS. of group CEH; the author of Br. was consequently driven to keep more closely than ever to his source M., xii, 17—24. The miraculous apparition in the prison and the heavenly message to Margaret that follow are also dependent on M., xii, 24—29. The independence of Br., 497—512, from W. need not be demonstrated, especially if we consider that CEH completely rearrange this scene. After having thanked God for the apparition, Margaret sharply questions her tempter (Br., 513—528). Again W., 823—830, does not contribute any substantial or formal elements to Br., which paraphrases M., xii, 30—34, e.g.:

Br., 526—527. Adciò possa alquanto requiare;
E dopoi ti contarò l' opra mia.
M., xii, 33. ...ut quiescam modicum, et enarrabo tibi omnia opera mea.

The reply of the demon (Br., 529—560) is also worked out in strict adherence to M., xii, 35—xiii, 25, but the poet has omitted many of the emphatic Latin expressions, as did also the monk of Piacenza (W., 835—870). Both the poetical versions are comparatively faithful to their text; both omit certain passages, as that relating to the religion of Margaret's parents who are said to have been under the demon's sway, or the other containing the demon's question concerning Margaret's family, and her reply; yet, verbally, Br. and W. are independent of each other.

Br., 531—533. .....Io sono appellato
Belzib, pox' el nome del mio signore,
Qual Belziabub è per nome chiamato.

M., xii, 35—36. Beelzes cognomen est mihi post Belzebub.

Br., 545—546. Nançe che Christo te acompagnasse
Eri conme cinere assai brusata.

M., xii, 40. Antequam Christus in te maneret, terra eras et cinis...

Margaret's command to the demon to depart (Br., 563—570) is drawn with a certain freedom from M., xiv, 11—15, but stands in no verbal agreement with W., 871—885. The beginning of the second interview with Olibero (Br., 569—576) is also dependent upon M., xiv, 16—17. The Emperor does not in M., xiv, 18—20, express his surprise at seeing the maiden look so well after her sufferings of the previous day, though the question of Br., 583—584, is based upon that passage in M. The source of Br., 580:

Anchuo d' ogni mal sanata

is W., 904, either in its own form:

D' ognunca mal ben guaria

or more probably in the form given by CEH, which introduces here:

W., 734. Che de mal no auea miga.

In fact Br., 579:

E ello guarda e vidi 'l suo bel colore

is more nearly akin to W., 905, as given by CE:

E per lo colore k' era en le' (H: e 'l bello colore)

than to the usual form of W., 905:

Per le beleçe k' era en le'.

In M., xiv, 20—22, Margaret's reply is recorded in a few words which are amplified in W., 909—934, in a new dialogue, consisting of two questions by Olinbrio and two replies by the saint. The lines Br., 585—600, although curtailing some passages, adhere to the Lombard text; Br., 590—592, are clearly based on W., 918—926, and

Br., 593—594. .....'Ben ti confirmo
Che sopra 'l mio corpo ha' [tu] possanza'

are drawn from W., 927—928:

.....'Ben è uer
Che tu me poi sto corpo ancir';

while Br., 599—600:

Ma sapi certo che l' anima mia
Non puo' tu haver in tua bailia,

seem to recall W., 357—358, which H introduces here in the form:

Se tu ài lo corpo en bailia
Tu no aurai l' anema mia.

Again, the actual martyrdom of Margaret rests on W. rather than on M. The trial by fire (M., xiv, 22—24) is briefly described in M., while W., 935—948, adds many particulars some of which are faithfully repeated in Br., 601—608.

Br., 601—602, seem to echo W., 615—616, which CEH introduce here and the lines:

Br., 607—608. In tal modo ardia la tenerella
Conme faria una secha facella,

are based on W., 947—948:

E le soe carne è tenerele
Sì ardea como faxelle. (CEH: *Tenerella* and *una faxella.*)

Margaret's prayer (Br. 609—616) is independent of M., xiv, 25—26, and of W., 950—954, but it undoubtedly recalls the lines introduced after l. 950 by CEH, e.g.:

Br., 611. Tuto 'l mondo per te fuo illuminato...
W., p. 54 n. Veraxe dio ke 'l lume aduxisti...
Br., 613. Per te fuo il mare e la terra creato...
W., p. 54 n. Lo celo, la terra e 'l mare tu facisti.

In M., xiv, 26—28, and in W., 955—963, a short dialogue between the Emperor and the maiden follows, but CE(H) omit ll. 955—962 (64). Br., 617—624, follows this group, passing on at once to describe the torture by boiling water (W., 963), e.g.:

Br., 620. Che un(o) gran(de) vasello fuosse apparechiato...
W., 965. Un grand uasselo fes uegnir...

Curiously enough CEH have 'tina' instead of 'uassello.'

Br., 623. Poi dentro [quello] la fece ghietare...
W., 968. Entro l' acqua la fes çetar...

Br. does not record that Margaret was bound, as do M., xiv, 31 and W., 967; this verse is omitted in CEH.

The subsequent prayer of the saint is much longer in M., xiv, 33—xv, 2. Br., 625—632, retains only those sentences that are not omitted by group CEH, in which the whole passage is rearranged:

Br., 628—629. Signa questa acqua colla tua oratione
Che di tal[e] baptismo me contento.
W., 981—982. Segname st' acqua cun lo to segno
Che questo sie me' batesmo.

Br., 631—632, are almost identical with W., 977—978.

The arrival of the dove with the crown for Margaret (Br., 633—640) is drawn once more from a MS. akin to CEH, and especially to H, which introduces here W., 807:

Br., 633. Ver il ciel la sancta have guardato...
W., 807. Ella guardà en cel là drito...

Br., 639—640, recall W., 987.

The general conversion of the people is barely mentioned in M., xv, 14. Br. amplifies W., which does not record the actual words of the people (W., 991—998) which are to be found in Br., 644—648; but Br., 641—642, rest on the two verses substituted by CEH for W., 991—994, and Br., 643, 648, respectively recall W., 997 and 998; e.g.:

Br., 641. Quando [e]l populo dela contrata.
W., p. 57, n. 991. E la zente de quella contrada.

The martyrdom of the 5000 converts (Br., 649—656) is entirely dependent on W., 999—1004, e.g.:

Br., 652. Cinque milia ne fece appigliare.
W., 1001. Ben. V. milia ne fe' piiar (in EH *Ben* is omitted).
Br., 655. Al campo d' Arminía deputato.
W., 1003 (as in CEH). En lo campo de Arminio fo.

The sentence on Margaret (Br., 657—672) is drawn from W., 1005—1012; Marco's reply to the maiden is introduced by a verse:

Br., 665. E Marco gli rispuoxe voluntiera,

which recalls W., 1013, as in C:

El ge respoxe volentera,

although Marco's speech is somewhat more fully developed than in W., 1014—1016. It may be mentioned that CEH all spell the name of the executioner 'Marco,' not 'Malco' as M. and W.

The last prayer of the saint begins in Br., 673—696, with expressions which the monk of Piacenza had chosen for his Lombard poem (W. 1020—1022) from those in M., xvi, 9—10; indeed the lines Br., 673—674, are modelled on:

W., 1020—1021. O Jesù Christo, dolçe Pare,
Che mesuras la terra e 'l celo...

The rest of the prayer follows W. (CEH), e.g.:

Br., 679—680. Glie siano totti quanti perdonati
Offensione, ingiurie e peccati.
W., Nt., 3—4. Che li sia tuti perdonadi
Li ofenssioni e li pecadi...

Br., 684, is modelled on W. (Nt., 8) and Br., 678—688, also depend on W., (Nt., 11—12). Br. however adds (689—692) a few more requests of the saint. Finally the concluding lines down to Br., 724, are drawn from W., (Nt.), that is to say from the end of the poem as it appears in the MSS. of group CEH. I shall give a few out of many instances:

Br., 697. Una sancta voce dal cïel viene...

W., Nt., 13. Una voxe alor dal cielo viene...

Br., 706. Quando ti piace fa ciò ch' ài ad fare...

W., Nt., 19. Tosto fa çiò che tu di' fare...

Br., 711—712. .....Se ciò non farai
Sapi mechuo parte non haverai.

W., Nt., 25—26. Se tu questo non faray
Chon mego jnsema tu non vegniray.

Br., 718. .....e luy fuo in terra strangossato...

W., Nt., 30. El chade jn tera strangossado.

Br., 724—736 are a rather free adaptation from W., Nt., 40—50.

The preceding analysis, which may appear too minute, but which could easily be amplified, proves beyond doubt that the author of Br. availed himself of two different sources: the prose text which we have called M(ombritius) whence the poet drew a considerable portion of his work, mainly between l. 225 and l. 584, while the remaining portion was taken by him from a Lombard text belonging to the group which, according to Wiese's denomination, we have called CEH. The evidence in favour of this theory is almost overwhelming. The prologue is missing as in CEH[1]; Br. has no likeness to W., 1024—1090, but follows fairly closely the characteristic end of the legend given in Wiese's *Nachtrag* (Nt.); two verses which Wiese singles out as characteristic of group CEH[2] (ll. 27—28 of Nt.), are reproduced in Br., 718; finally, many more verses have been pointed out in the preceding pages certainly derived from verses in W. which are peculiar to CEH.

One might also assume that the author of Br. knew a Lombard version differing considerably from those which have been traced. Wiese has shown that, notwithstanding some discrepancies, all the MSS. he has examined agree in the main lines, and no single one, we may add, has such features as to allow us to believe that Br. depends solely on it. Besides, if such a version had really existed, why should it not be preserved in any MS., while so many, well nigh a dozen, repeat the familiar lines of W.? This absolute lack of manuscript tradition seems to weaken the hypothesis of the existence of an intermediate version.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. li. [2] *Ibid.*, p. lviii.

The question stands practically thus: either the author of Br. knew W. as well as M., or someone else before him translated M. in a form different from W., but which was known to the author of W. as well as to the author of Br. Seeing that Br. cannot be ascribed to a period earlier than the end of the fourteenth century, on account of its style and general character, and that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries W. enjoyed great popularity in the North of Italy, as we can gather from the date of the various MSS., and that an even greater popularity fell to the share of the Latin version and to its literal Italian translations, the balance of judgment seems decidedly in favour of the first supposition.

There are perhaps some indications in Br. of this twofold source. In l. 24 express reference is made to a *cantare* ('In Antiochía s' el cantar non mente'), so that the author seems to acknowledge his indebtedness to a *cantare*; in the next line there is a reference to a *scriptura*, which means of course as a rule 'a Latin text.' The weight carried by this word is considerably lessened by its position in rhyme (our poet shared with most of his colleagues a certain difficulty in finding rhyme words) and by the fact that he may have drawn this line from W., 662:

Sì como la scritura dis,

or even better from W., 48:

E la scritura lo manefesta.

Wiese points out further[1] that these lines are 'formelhaft,' being traceable to preceding Lombard poems. Yet in spite of all these objections we cannot absolutely disregard the possibility of their having in the present case a foundation in reality, especially as we have seen that such was most probably the truth.

Literary productions of this kind seldom attain a high degree of artistic perfection, and Br. is far from forming an exception to the rule. Indeed, the Lombard text constantly shows a more sincere feeling; its author seems more thoroughly convinced of the reality of the martyrdom he describes, besides being more effective, if more brutal, in the picture he gives of the sufferings of the saint. Our poet was gifted with far less dramatic power than the monk of Piacenza who is supposed to have composed W. His style is halting, his poetry little better than prose; his rhymes are often imperfect, either in the matter of consonants as in ll. 730, 732, 734: donna, buona, perdona; ll. 151, 152: crucifixo, auciso; or vowels, e.g., ll. 153, 155, 157: imperatore, fuore, anchuora etc.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 102 and 104.

The measure of the verses is also frequently faulty (as a glance at the text will easily show) owing to the irregularly distributed accents, e.g., l. 715:

Staxendo la virgine in oratione;

or on account of omitted elisions as is very often the case, e.g., l. 464:

Nela forma che potreti udire.

Or again on account of letters or syllables which were not pronounced, especially in the case of words having the stress on the antepenultimate syllable, e.g., anima in ll. 214 and 272. But even making allowance for all these possible causes of imperfection, which are by no means peculiar to the author of Br., there remain in his legend a goodly number of hopelessly irregular verses, the irregularities of which cannot be attributed to the scribe.

We know that the poem was in our MS. copied by a Milanese, and we may perhaps also assume that it was composed by a Lombard. The only alternative hypothesis would be to attribute all the dialectical forms partly to the Lombard scribe, and partly to the Lombard source, admitting that we have in our legend an unsuccessful attempt to paint over the Lombard canvas with a Tuscan coating. Such an attempt could only be described as hopelessly unsuccessful, since we meet with Lombardisms at almost every line, and not only in the portion that is clearly drawn from W., but also in that which is dependent upon M.

As for the responsibility of the amanuensis, we ought to begin by exonerating Sachelli, since other poems contained in this same miscellany are very different and almost free from Lombardisms. Besides how could one ascribe to an amanuensis rhymes such as the following: stermitta (l. 106), smarrita; staxiva (l. 321), vidiva and potia; staxia (l. 377), venia and havia; stermita (l. 401), fita and oblita; nasce (nasse) (l. 549), brusasse; vinto (vento) (l. 553), dolento and spavento; rasato (l. 622), giovato and apparechiato; redeghato (l. 644), fatto. These and many other Lombard forms must be traced back to the author, who, although not a Tuscan, endeavoured to write the literary language and was thwarted in his effort by his imperfect preparation as well as by the dominating influence of one of his sources.

Other Lombard texts of approximately the same period bear more or less kindred features. I may perhaps mention here a resemblance, in general tone rather than in any particular point, which at times I seem to recognize between our legend and the *Lamento di Bernabò*

Visconti in its first and second versions[1]. I confess that this resemblance is of a somewhat evanescent character: but one might compare the following passages:

Br., 265.	O perfido e malvaxio consigliero.
Lam. I, st. lxxix.	O falsi consiglier male avixati.
Br., 475—476.	Troppo m' agrava il divoto cantare Nel qual sie stata in gienuchione.
Lam. II, st. vi.	Devotamente stava in zinochione.
Lam. II, st. xviii.	Più e più volte ò abuto in vixione Che tuta smarita son de pagura, Che de [sot]tera insiva un dragone Che facia tremar ogni creatura, La boca apria sença remissione Sol per desfare la vostra figura ; Uno splendor dal ciel li ferì 'n vixo, Che quel dragon subito fo conquixo.

This stanza challenges comparison with Br., 377—424, as it seems to summarize the whole scene of the dragon's appearance in our poem.

A comparative study of the phonology of this text with that of the other items contained in the same MS., might enable us, or at least help us, to distinguish the forms which are to be ascribed to the habits of Sachelli from those which may presumably be attributed to the author. We find in Br. a peculiar graphical idiosyncracy. Sachelli writes: d' uhora (l. 100); l' uhora (l. 102); ogni uhor (l. 135); l' uhumana (l. 184); l' ohora (l. 229); l' ohobedivan (l. 292); d' uhuom (l. 428); la ihistoria (l. 570). These forms may lead us to believe that the writer considered *h* as a real aspiration, since he deemed it necessary to repeat before it the vowel that followed. Altogether, taking the text in itself it shows great uncertainty both in its phonological and its morphological forms; thus, we find these forms for tutto: tutta (ll. 20, 240), tuta (ll. 71, 354, 445, 611), toti (l. 656), totti (ll. 36, 85, 121, 236 etc.), tuotta (l. 109). Further, cruoce (ll. 417, 447 etc.), croce (ll. 471, 554 etc.); fide (l. 260), fede (l. 439); devotione (l. 480), divotione (l. 626); chi (ll. 288, 298, 299 etc.), che (ll. 376, 397 etc.); ambassiatori (l. 97), ambaxiata (l. 148); raxone (l. 339), rasone (l. 470), ragione (l. 646); plurals like: mane (ll. 404, 429, 458); genochie (l. 429); offensione (l. 680); verbal forms like siei (ll. 503, 550, 614 etc.), sie (ll. 178, 476 etc.), ei (l. 509); ho (l. 537), agio (l. 538); porei (l. 590), poria

[1] *Lamenti storici dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI raccolti e ordinati*, a cura di A. Medin e L. Frati, I, Bologna, 1887. 'Scelta di curiosità letterarie,' disp. 236, pp. 81 ff., 157 ff. Both the 'Lamenti di Bernabò' (nos. I and II), were composed before 1385. See *l.c.*, p. 155.

(l. 386); facea (l. 28), facia (l. 385); staxiva (l. 321), staxia (l. 377); steva (l. 242).

But a closer study of the phonology of our legend could only give fruitful results, as I have said, after a comparison of the forms that we meet in this legend with those that appear in the other works copied by Sachelli. In view of this uncertainty concerning the forms preferred by the author I have printed the legend without any alteration, simply separating the words, writing out the abbreviations and adding the necessary punctuation. Words or syllables between [ ] have been added by me; words or letters between ( ) ought to be omitted or were probably not pronounced. Special corrections are explained in the foot-notes to the text.

C. Foligno.

Oxford.

AN ITALIAN VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF ST MARGARET.

Al nome del nostro Signor Dio Patre
E del Filioul col Spirito Sancto
Anchuo della sua gloriosa matre,
Virgine Maria, et ogni sancto
E sancta Ursa con le sue et altre
Virgine et sancte col divoto canto,
Vogliovi nuntïare l' aspra vita
D' una virgine che sequì qua d(i)rita.

Pertanto ogni hom intenda e stia in pace,
Chi vuol aldir[e] d' un sancto sermone,
D' una legenda, che d' ogni hora piace
Ad ciasch[ed]una donna per staxone,
D' [un]a virgine che prieghera face
A Dio e per lor fa sempre oratïone.
Al suo baptismo fuo per nome ditta
La glorïosa sancta Margarita.

2 MS. sp̃u. 13 MS. da.

A Dio multo fuo fidèle e francha
E fuo del Spirto Sancto illuminata;
Dil adorar quel giamai nen fuo stancha;
Con grande amor a Dio s' è tuta data;
E si lege, si la lege non mancha,
Che d' un gentil pagano la fuo nata,
D' un Patriarca nobile e possente,
In Antiochía s' el cantar non mente.

Qual cred' io, al dir[e] dela scriptura,
Sia ad gran[de] tormento condennato,
Però non credea nen facea cura
Di quel Signiore, che lo havia creato,
Ançi, ello adorava una figura
Di ligno e d' argento sopraurato,
Che non havia bailia nen possanza
Più conme de sì fatta consa è usanza.

Per il simil(e) l' Oliber Imperatore
Una ydola per suo dio adorava,
Ciò era Machometo plen d' errore,
Ad qual totti suoi pensieri contava,
E lo teni(v)a per suo sopran signiore,
Dicendo (che) troppo bene il consigliava,
E per ingano di quel mal fattore
Era cecato (il) Olib(e)ro Imperatore.

fol. 1[A], col. 2 Or cominciamo dela sancta dona
E contaremo (de)la sua sancta vita:
Quando fuo nata la virgine buona,
Per voler ch' ela fuosse ben nutrita,
Ad una assai valente persona
Fuo data la virgine Margarita,
Lontano fuor[i] da quella citate,
Conme si trova, quindeci giornate,

Per gran paura del Imperatore,
Che persequiva li buon Christïani

18 MS. sp̃u. 20—24 are written in a smaller hand by the same scribe over others that have been carefully scratched out. 33 MS. lolcher. Probably Olíber ought to be considered as a word of two syllables; the name is constantly Olinbrio in W., showing that the stress, possibly owing to a false analogy with *líbero*, fell on the i; indeed in l. 345 the name is spelled Olibro. 40 MS. illibero.

E li teniva in gran[de] tremore,
Facendoli destruere comme cani;
Per sua gran crudeltate et furore
Non potean(o) habitar(e) monti nen plani.
Or aldireti in pace buona gente
Dila sancta donna lo conveniente.

Era quella sanctissima poncella
Fuor dila terra una volta andata
Con altre virginete sì commo ella
Ad un bel prato conm' el' iera usata,
Ad guardar caprete e pegorsella
Di sua nutrice, una matutinata;
Così stagando hebbe l' ochio alla strata,
Vidi venir una grande armata.

In mezo di quella cavalaria
Veniva lo malvaxio senza fede;
Conti, marchexi e altra cavalaria
In sua (gran) conpagna la poncella vede,
Che dila magistra ci(vi)tà venia,
Per far oratione senza mercede
E per destruere tuta quella gente,
Che adoravan[o] Christo omnipotente.

Così venendo quel chan renegato,
Have scusito la sincera roxa;
Subitamente ne fuo 'namorato,
Tanto li piacque sopra ogni altra consa;
E duo di suoi famigli hebe chiamato,
Irrabiato tal ch' el suo chuor non possa,
(Et) feceli subito (tal) comandamento,
Che dovesseno far il suo talento.

fol. 1[B], col. 1 Apparechiati fuoron di presente
Li duoi meschini per lui ubedire,
Dicendo: 'comandate arditamente,
Che presto siamo ad vuy servire
E di complere totto intieramente
Il vostro piacere fin al morire.'
Alor[a] incominciò quel felone
Ad dicerli la sua intentïone:

60 Written by the same hand on the margin.

'Videte vuy quella gentil donzella,
Chi è nel mezo dil prato locata?
Andate senza far dimora ad ella,
E glie fariti una mia ambassiata,
Che la m' è semigliata tanto bella
E di virtute sì bene acconstumata,
Ch' io la voglio per mia sponsa e donna,
E serà del mio regno la colunna.'

L' ambassiatori di quel meschino
Da lui se parteno senza dimora,
Ver la donna priseno il camino,
Fueron gionti a llei in puocho d' uhora,
Puo' gli fecero multo grande inchino,
Dicendoli, quando gli apparse l' uhora:
'Da parte Olib(e)ro, chi è nostro signore,
Siamo ad vuy mandati ambassiatore.'

Quando la donna fuo di lor accorta,
Ella fuo sì fortemente stermitta,
Che nella facia quasi parsi morta,
Così lieve fuo(la) dil sangue smarrita,
Ma tuotta volta se senti(v)a tal scorta
Unde ella se teniva ben guarnita,
Ciò era l' alto Dio de vita eterna,
Che suoi veraci amici ben governa.

Allor incominciò ella ad pregar Dio:
'Alto signor di gloria eternale!
Misericordia, o duolce signor mio!
Defendetime da cotanto male!'
Così lo pregava con gran disio,
Conme bixogna ha il suo caxo tale,
Dicendo la virgine totta fiata:
'O Signor mio, ad vuy son totta data!

f. 1[B], col. 2 Non sia la mia mente totta turbata,
Nen mi facia stravolgere il mio chuore,
Nen sïa la tua fede spregïata,
Nen la mia scïencia, nè 'l tuo amore,
Nen la virtute qual [tu] m' ài donata
Sia infangata da nïun disnore.

124 Added by the same hand on the margin.

Tramittime l' angïoul benedetto
Che pugna per mi contra Macometto.

Ch' io son[o] conme passer alla rete,
E conme pesso all' amo son prexa,
Cossì son io, se non me socurrete,
E si per vui, Signor, non son diffexa.
O duolce Patre, com' io ò gran sette
Dil vostro amore ch' i' son forte accexa.'
La suoa preghiera d' ogni huor facendo
Dixi: 'Signor, ad vuy m' aricomendo.'

Quando li messagi[eri] dil mal fare
Hebeno intexo la sancta oratione,
Non se volsero lì (già) più dimorare,
Videndo che non gli era più chagione,
Ma subito la curseno (ad) accusare
Al suo signore di puocha ragione,
Avisando luy che la sua fede (*sic*)
Di la donzella hav(e)ria puoca mercede.

'Sapi, signore Imperator possente,
Che la donzella non è di tua gesta;
Non ha voluto intender de nïente
Nostra ambaxiata, fatta ad tua richiesta;
Ançi se volse verso orïente,
Ad alta voce, alievà sua testa
Cominciando adorar quel crucifixo,
Qual fuo per li Iudei auciso.' (*sic*)

Quando lo iniquo chane Imperatore
Have quella responsïone intexa,
Subito comandò con gran furore
Che la fuose da lui menata prexa,
Adciò possa da lei saper anchuora
Qual' è quel Dio per cui l' è diffexa.
Per tal ira se prixi ad curuciare
Quel chane, che non se potia alegrare.

f. 2[A], col. 1 Menata fuo da lui senza tardare
Quella virgine da Christo sponsata
E poi la incominciò ad dimandare

Dil suo linagio e dov' era nata,
S' el' iera libera e di qual affare.
E per qual Dio ela era guidata.
Or oldreti conme la glie rispuose
Humil[e]mente con benigna vose.

'Sapi, o Perfeto, ch' io son christïana,
Libera e francha, non voglio mentire,
Io adoro Christo, d' ogni ben(e) fontana
Di salvatione ad cui se vuol pentire;
Per generatïone io fui pagana,
In Antiochía nata, ad ver dire;
Figlia fui d' un patriarca gentile,
Che signoregiò terre più de mille.'

Dixi lo 'mperatore: 'or me di' vero,
Conme sie tu da la gente chiamata?'
Quella [gli] rispuose: '[o] bel misero,
Io fuo per Margarita baptizata
Ad nome dil prefetto consiliero
Per il qual son[o] al mondo creata,
Che se lasciò per noy crucificare
Ad l' uhumana generation(e) salvare.'

Quando lo 'mperator(e) di ciò fuo accorto
Et ebbe intexo [tutto] il suo volere,
Rimasi de (gran) nequitia quaxi morto,
Videndo che di lei non podia havere
Parola che gli facessi conforto,
Nen che gli fuosse gratta al suo piacere;
Però comandò alla sua brigata
Che la virgine fuosse incarcerata.

Lo prefetto, comme chane irrabiato,
Intra subitamente en la citate,
Dinanzi ad Machometo è genuchiato,
Pleno de nequissima crudeltate;

164 a of linagio inserted above the line. 166 e of ela inserted above the line. 179 Sachelli inserts, almost without exception, a small o above the line, where there is a vocative case; but these o's are, I think, to be regarded in most cases as marks of punctuation, not as pronounced vowels. I have here inserted an o before bel for metrical reasons. 194 MS. nella citate, which gives a syllable too many. My correction is based on the analogy of l. 686, in li suoi martiri, and of the source of this verse, W., 380, Ke el entrà en la cità.

Così fece, comm' egli era usato,
Adorar quel dio senza libertate
E qual era ciecho, surdo e mutto,
Che 'l buon chonsentimento havia destrutto.

fol. 2[A], col. 2 Poi lo mane, al giorno apparisente,
Olib(e)ro fuo nel palatio montato;
Suoi consiglieri havia lì presente
E fuo per quella poncella mandato;
Dissigli quel chane: 'Or mi consente,
Non voler(e) ch' el tuo corpo sia disfato;
Se 'l mio disïo contento farai,
Sopra ogni altra contenta sarai.'

Ad qual rispuoxe santa Margarita:
'Nulla mi cura di tua bubanza,
Ch' io son d' un altro thexauro fornita,
Nel qua' assai ho magïor speranza;
Me poi bene il corpo privar di vita,
Ma sopra l' anima non hav(e)raï possanza,
Ançi la hav(e)rà Christo, filioul de Dio,
Ad qual ho dato [tutto] il chuor[e] mio.'

Alor fuo lo 'mperatore iniquo
E subito fuo in pie[di] levato,
Dicendo: 'Perchè non fai ciò te dico,
Voglio Macometo te sia a ggrato,
Ello ti serà troppo buon amico
E dil tuo amor io sarò firmato.
Se non faï contento il mio volere,
Ad cruda morte te farò giacere.'

Rispuoxe sancta Margarita allora:
'Fa quel che ti piace, o imperatore;
Io t' ò ditto e tel dico anchuora
Ch' i' ò dato il mio chuor ad quel signore,
Qual mi darà, quando serà l' ohora,
Corona laureata dil suo amore,
Poi [ad]conpagnerà l' anima mia
Colla gloriosa virgine Maria.'

214 Anima ought to be regarded here and in ll. 272 and 360 as disyllabic.

Alor[a] non bixognò più tardare,
Comandò la fuosse leghata, (*sic*)
Sopre le folche la fece empicare,
De (totti) suoi drapi totta quanta spoliata;
Dopoi la fece assai martirizare
Nequamente da süoa macinata;
Ella fuo sì crudelmente battuta
Che la carne glie sanguinava tutta.

f. 2[B], col. 1 La virgine, che gran tormento havia,
Divotamente steva in oratione,
Dicendo: 'O speranza soprana mia,
Adiutame da[l] (questo) perfido felone,
Adciò (la) mia mente turbata non sia!
Misericordia dil cïel campione!
Tramitteme quella duolce fontana,
Che queste plaghe conforta e sana.'

Così pregando la virgine pura
Jesu Christo patre omnipotente,
[La] fuo totta tagliata senza cura
Da verganti di ferro nequamente,
Unde dal suo corpo senza mensura
Fonte di sangue pluvia dritamente,
Dicendo quelli: 'O Margarita crede,
E serva il ditto dila nostra fede!'

Gran pïetate la gente n' avia,
Videndola sì forte sanguinare,
Et a la fiata alghuni gli dicia:
'Perchè vuo' tu tal morte fare?
Questo mi par gran fallo in fide mia
Che al nostro dio non vo(gl)i sacrificare!
O Margarita muta il tuo chuore
E fa quel che piace a lo 'mperatore!'

'O perfido e malvaxio consigliero,
Sapi che 'l tuo consiglio non m' è grato,
Assai di meglior me ne fa mistiero,
Qual i' ò bene nel mio chuor pigliato,

266 MS. non me buono; grato is an obvious correction.

Ma non lo sai a dir il vero (*sic*)
Per Macometto che t' à sì cecato;
Sapi [che] se 'l mio corpo ha tormento,
L' anima legreza hav(e)rà in conpimento.

O dolorosi vui quanti güai,
Vi sono nel profundo apparechiati!
Perchè non credete vuy or[a]mai
Nel alto Dio qual v' à 'l mondo creati?
Colui non vi refutarà giamai,
Si de buon chuor a lluy v' aretornati.'
Ver lo 'mperator(e) dopoi (la) se volgia,
Gridando ad alta voce a lluy dicia:

f. 2[B], col. 2 'O tristo chane pleno de nequitia,
L' op[e]ra di Sathan, tuo patre, servi!
Io dotto puocho la tüa malizia;
Benchè mi strazi la carne et [i] nervi,
L' alto signore di buona iusticia
Me [ad]compagnerà co' l' altri servi
Nella gloria dela eterna vita,
Chi è in secula seculorum infinita.'

Alor fuo il prefetto più irato
E smemorato che di prumieri;
Subitamente ello have comandato
Ad que(ll)i che l' ohobedivan voluntieri;
'Duo graphi di ferro ben approbato
Toleti voi de' più aspri e fieri,
Che gli tagliano la carne e l' ossa
Per tal modo che ripayrar se possa.'

Ma, Dio, quanto po' esser indurato
Quel chuor chi non se move ad compassione,
Quel sancto corpo chi è sì implagato
E non se stancha di far oratione!
Verso il cïel la sancta ha[ve] guardato,
Pregando Dio con gran divotione,
Dicendo: 'Or son da cani circundata,
Socurrime, Signior, ad questa fiata!

276 MS. alluy tornareti. 279 l of volgia inserted above the line.
290 MS. chd.

O duolce patre mio, misericordia!
L' anima mia fa non sia maculata,
E non m' abandoni la tua concordia,
La mia verginitate sia salvata
Da questi cani plen(i) d' ogni discordia!
Me conforti tua speranza beata,
Tramitteme la columba dal cielo,
Che mi porti di humiltate il velo!

Ch' io ti possa virginità(te) servare
E combatter per ti sì franchamente,
Che questo chane (contra me) non possa durare,
Qual me persegue così iniquamente,
Che ad facia ad facia lo possa acquistare
E farlo di sua malitia dolente,
Per dar all' altre vergin(e) tal fidutia,
Che di far tuoi servitii non indutia.'

f. 3[A], col. 1 Come in questa oratione la staxiva
Soff(e)rendo lei anguoscioxo tormento,
E quel iniquo perfetto vidiva
Quel sancto corpo così sanguinento,
Che in ver [di] lei guardar[e] non potia,
Ma se copri(v)a 'l viso di smarrimento,
Ch' elo havìa videndo i dolor tanti,
E così facean(o) l' altri totti quanti.

Dixi lo 'mperatore: 'O Margarita,
Perchè non fa' tu ormai la mia voglia?
Habii remissione dilla tua vita
E non voler sofferir cottanta doglia!
Nun vide tu conme la carn' è afflicta?
Or me consente e più mal non ricoglia!
S' il mio voler[e] non farai contento,
Ad (mala) morte te farò portar[e] stento!'

Quella beat(issim)a constante creatura
A lluy rispuoxe, da Dio inspirata:
'O can(e) senza raxone nen mensura,
Non mi caglia s' io son martirizata,

308 MS. mia humiltate, but Sachelli wrote in the margin: alias: verginitate; humiltate was evidently a slip caused by the word recurring shortly afterwards in l. 312. 325 di suggested by ll. 411 and 612.

S' io dela mia carne facesse chura,
L' anima mïa saria condennata,
Ma la mia carne ho data alli tormenti,
A ciò che l' anima (dopo) corona senti.'

Alor Olibro fuo dil seno usito;
Dissi ch' ella fuosse incarcerata.
Già era tempo di septe hore ghitto,
Che 'n l' obscura pregïon fuo menata,
Et intrando in quel luoco smarrito
Dil segno dila croce se fuo armata,
E comintiò ad far questa oratione,
Qual io ve diroi con divotione.

'Signor Dio, chi la scientia ordinasti,
Per la qual tuto 'l mondo è in timore,
Ad desperati speranza donasti;
Dele vidüe iusto defensore,
Patre de[li] orfani ti chiamasti,
Luce chi sopra ogni altra dai splendore,
Adiutame, suola da patre unita (*sic*),
E chome ti piace l' anima mia guida!

f. 3[A], col. 2 Concedime ch[e] io possa videre
Lo nemico mïo vinto e legato;
Chè senza fine è il tuo sapere,
Monstrame quel chi m' è sì ostinato,
Ben ch' io mi sento la carne dolere,
Non esser contra me corrutiato!
O Jesu Christo, [mia] firma speranza,
Socorrime con (la) tua plena possanza!'

Un(o) huomo che Ticino s' appellava
Con la süa nutrice sconsolata,
Sovenzo totti duoi la visitava
Alla pregion(e), dove l' iera serrata,
Dil pane et acqua gli administrava
Ad quella sancta virgine beata;

344 MS. sente. 350 g of segno written above the line. 359 The verse does not give any satisfactory meaning; unita is required by the rhyme, but in view of the fact that M., x, 37—38, the source of this passage, has: 'quia sola sum unica patris,' I am inclined to think that l. 359 is a blundering imitation of the Latin. 367 mia suggested by M., xi, 2, the source of this passage, 'In te est spes mea, Christe....'

Dala fenistra Ticino scrivia
La sancta vita, che far la vidia.

Si comme in oratione ella staxia,
Gli apparse un molto orribel[e] dracone
Che 'n ver di lei sibilando venia
E ghietava fuoco da gardilione;
La barba et [i] capelli gialli havia,
Facendo tremar(e) totta la pregione;
De diversi colori esser paria
E per sua spada una serpa tenia.

Facia sì gran paura quel smaniato
Che di magior[e] non poria parlare,
Nel mezo dila pregion(e) fuo arizato,
Cominciando più forte ad sibilare
E demonstrando fuocho sì abbrasato,
Che totta la pregion(e) fece sgiairare
Sì forte, che de legier lo vidia
La virgin(e) che in oration(e) staxia.

O quanta paora puo' tu pensare,
Che la sancta donzela podia havere
Videndo contra se quel dracon(e) stare
Dinanzi lei pleno di mal volere,
Che, secondo di lei [io] so trovare,
Quasi per morta se lasciò cadere,
E (cos)sì palida par ch' ela venisse
Comme herba [verde] quando la marcisse.

f. 3[B], col. 1 Quando la virgin(e) fuo in sè ritornata
Di l' angoscia par che l' iera stermita,
Subito ad terra fuo genuchiata
E fuo con le mane al cïel[o] fita.
Quella oratïone have cominciata
Qual [ell'] havia per paora oblita,
Dicendo: 'O Christo patre omnipotente
Adiutame dal malvaxio serpente.'

399 Compare W. (E), 723, Sì palida pare che divenisse; W. (F), 723, Sì palida parì ch' ela divenisse. 400 W. (EH), 724, Chomo erba verde che marcisse, by which verde was suggested to me.

Facendo ella sua divota oratione,
La gloriosa virgine Margarita,
[In] ver di liei venia quel dracone
Con buoca aperta e lingua ardita,
[De] puoi gli mixe senz' altra raxone
La buocha sopra (que)la testa florita,
La lingua sotto il calcagno metando,
Sì la transgluttì quasi sospirando.

Ma la cruoce de Dio, quel sancto signo
Che la sancta donzela havia fatto,
Fuo cresciuta nel corpo dil maligno
Dracone, che quella havia mangiato,
Per qual signo il parse conme ligno,
Diviso per alghun ferro schiapato,
E fuor ensì quella virgine pura,
Dio gratia salva e senza paura.

Ad presso questo l[a] ebe guardato
Dal sinistro canto dela presone
E vidigle un demone dispregiato
In forma d' uhuom nigro come carbone
Con le mane alle genochie legato,
Orribile e di falsa conditione;
Comme la sancta donna l' ebbe visto
Subito la fuo ritornata ad Christo.

Dicendo: 'Te rengratio, o mio signore,
Laudato sia il tuo nom(e) per infinita,
O Jesu Christo, re senza tremore!
De quanta [a]legrezza m' ài fornita,
Ben son sacia dil tuo perfetto amore,
Qual ha per mi [co]sì forte schremito,
Ch[e] io vedo florida la mia fede,
E l' anima mia in triumpho sede!

f. 3^{B}, col. 2 Vedo Rufone in terra abatuto
E dela gran[de] puza sua cessare;

411 in suggested by l. 325. 414 que of quela is written above the line. 417 MS. Me. 428 MS. incrone, which has no sense. The metre is also defective; my hypothetical emendation was suggested by W., 751—752: El era negro cum un carbon | E si auea figura d' om. 436 MS. deh, but h deleted.

Quel homicida morto i' ò viduto;
Vedo lo 'nferno gran rabia menare,
Di tuto 'l suo potere l' ò distrutto;
Non ha possutto contra me durare;
Io vidi la mia cruoce florire
E il mio gueriero da longe fugire.

La mia columba col disio aspeto,
Qual conduce sechuo il divin(o) splendore.
Poi ch' i' ò morto il mio guerrer sospetto
E toltoglie la forza e 'l valore,
Ringratio 'l mio Signor con gran dileto,
Eterno re, perpetuo imperatore,
Benedictus salvator peccatorum
Per infinita sec(u)la seculorum.'

Come questa oratione ella dicesse,
Il demon[e] per man(e) [l'] hebbe pigliata,
Pregandola forte che la tacesse,
Che troppo era sua forsa legata,
Comme ciò fuosse ch' elo la videsse,
Per la sancta oration(e) perseverata,
Poi cominciò di parlar[e] e dire
Nela forma che [vui] potreti udire.

'Uno mio fratello t' avia mandato
In forma de orribile dracone,
Ad fin che 'l t' avesse il chuor turbato
E tolto dilla tua dispositione,
E (di) la tua virginità(te) disorrato
E tolto ad sua valanza tua rasone,
Ma con il signo dila sancta croce
Glie togliesti la forza e la voce.

Lo somigliante par [che tu] vuoi fare
Di me conme facesti di Ruffone,
Troppo m' agrava il divoto cantare,
Nel qual sie stata in gienuchïone,
Prïecote [che] vogli ormai cessare
E far fine alla tua oratione.'
Or oldrete conme fece la sancta
De la qual con devotion(e) qua si canta.

f. 4[A], col. 1 Subitamente la fuo in pie' levata,
Quando have ad suo voler orato,
Contr' al demone [ella] fue andata,
Qual per capelli [el]l' ave pigliato,
Trabucandolo in terra totta fiata,
Quasi con piede l' ave strangulato,
Dicendo lei: 'Ben ti farò cessare
Con la Dio gratia che 'l può fare! (*sic*)

Or cessa tu maligno, cessa ormai,
Nun vide tu in mio socurso Jesu Christo,
Cessa colla maligna puza ch' ài,
Insidioso malfattore e tristo,
Io fui e serò sempre mai (*sic*)
Sponsa di quel signor[e] Jesu Christo,
Il nome dil quale è glorificato
E da gli aungiuli del ciel exaltato.'

Come questa oratione ella dicea,
Un miracul nela pregion apparse,
Cioè luce che tal splendor(e) rendia,
Che la pregione quaxi (a) arder aparse;
La sancta cruoce nel cïel paria
E la columba su quella appogiarse,
Qual (gli) dicia: 'Beata siei, Margarita,
Ch' ài tolto al falso serpente la vita!

O Margarita ben sie tu beata,
Che la virginità(te) desiderasti,
La sancta corona t' è apparechiata
Ad qual ti recomandasti (*sic*)
Da gli angioli in ciel ei aspettata,
Alla porta non s' è chi te contrasti,
Però che sie stata di buona forteza,
Christo t' aspetta nella eterna duolceza.'

Alora ella incominciò ad ringratiare
Christo, qual forza gli avia datta
E poi se volse senza dimora[re]
[In] ver [di] quel demone desperato

490 MS. Nuȝ. 507 MS. corna, o is inserted above the line. 516 In and di suggested by ll. 325 and 411.

Dicendo lei: 'Dove sie usato ad stare?
Il tuo affar vo(glio) per te mi sia narrato;
Ch' ïo saper voglio di tua natura;
Or[a] me 'l dice malvaxa figura.'

f 4A, col. 2 Quando il demone vidise constretto,
Subito incominciò ad parlare:
'O Margarita me tieni sì stretto,
Ch' io non ti posso dire il mio affare,
Ma lievami dal colo il tuo pie' d(e)rito
Adciò possa alquanto requiare;
E dopoi ti contarò l' opra mia,
Et in qual[e] contrata star solia.'

La donzela il suo piede hebbe levato
E poi gli dixi: 'Or parla malfatore!'
Ello gli rispuoxe: 'Io son appellato
Belzib, pox' el nome del mio signore,
Qual Belziabub è per nome chiamato,
Del inferno magistro e rectore,
M' à io mandato per metter(e) bataglia
Tra la gente che 'l suo ben far non vaglia.

Con molti iusti bataglia ho fatto
E totti quanti l' agio adguadagnati,
Tu, Margarita, m' ài l' ochio crepato
Et ossa, carne e nervi son fracti;
Tu hai morto Ruffone, il sagurato;
Per te siamo vincti e soperchiati,
Anchuor cognosco Christo in tuo soccurso
Qual me tien più stretto il morso (*sic*).

Nançe che Christo te acompagnasse,
Eri conme cinere assai brusata,
Processa da ligno chi brusasse (*sic*)
E or sie tu da Christo (sì) santificata,
Che 'n te più cresce la virtute e nasce
Di quel sancto propheta ad cui siei datta,
Per la qual forsa me hai demonstrato
Quel sancto signo che m' à sì liegato.

525 MS. piede rito. 532 MS. poxel = pos' el; compare M., xii, 35—36: 'Beelzes cognomen est mihi post Belzebub.'

Co(n e)l signo dela croce tu m' ài vinto,
Tu, biancha, che sopra ogni altra risplendi,
E per quel signo tanto me spavento,
Che 'l cuor e 'l corpo mi stracie e fendi,
E per quel[lo] fuo Ruffone dolento,
Ma con quel signo pur[e] te diffendi,
La mente di iusti solea turbare
Et or[a] no 'l posso giamai più fare.'

f. 4[B], col. 1 La donzella allhuor gli ave comandato
Ch' el non dovesse piu eiular niente,
Poi il suo sancto corpo ebbe signato
Del signo de Christo omnipotente,
E poi Belzib l' ebbe sconiurato,
Che se partisse subitamentamente (*sic*)
Et andasse al fondo dila terra
Dov' el iera usato far sua (gran) guerra.

Or voglio ritornare al Prefetto
Per dir la ihistoria più conpitamente.
Il giorno sequente per gran dispetto
La fece menare da luy presente,
Per saper qual partito l' avia ellecto,
S' ela vorea esser ubediente;
La sancta a Dio fuse ricomendata
E fuo dil suo glorioso signo armata.

Or ella fue dinançi a lo 'mperatore
Dispregïatamente presentata,
E ello guarda e vidi 'l suo bel colore
Anchuo d' ogni mal sanata (*sic*)
Quasi monstro gli avesse amore;
Videndola di tal beleza ornata,
E dixi[le]: 'Perchè non mi consenti,
Nanti che sofferir tanti tormenti?'

La donzella allor gli rispondia:
'Sapi che mai non te consentirei;
Io appretio puoco [la] tua signoria
Con totta la possanza de' tuoi dei.'
Il prefetto alor[a] gli dicia:
'S' io ti volesse destruer, ti porei,

Ma non voglio perchè anchuo spero
Che degie far[e] ciò [che] te quero.'

Dixi la donzela: 'Ben ti confirmo
Che sopra 'l mio corpo ha' [tu] possanza,
Ma il mio chuor[e] tenerò sì firmo,
Che non te gioverà [la] tua speranza;
Tu sie ben schïata di falso vermo,
Qual fa trabucar la drita balanza,
Ma sapi certo che l' anima mia
Non puo' tu haver in [tua] bailia.'

f. 4[B], col. 2 Or ebbe il Prefetto cognosciuto,
Ch' ela non gli volea consentire;
Apender la fece conm(e) latro brutto,
Poi la fece con facelle rostire.
Era quel sancto corpo sì destrutto,
Che gran peccato ne par[e] ad dire;
In tal modo ardia la tenerella,
Conme faria una secha facella.

Margarita Christo have chiamato,
Dicendo: 'Duolce (Patre o) Maiestà divina,
Tuto 'l mondo per te fuo illuminato,
Misericordia, ver di me t' inchina!
Per te fuo il mare e la terra creato,
De' peccatori siei speranza fina,
O Jesu Christo, duolce il mio signore,
Mandam(e) constantia, possanza e valore.'

Conme cane il Prefetto irrabiava,
Videndo che nulla gli è giovato
Ad suoi mischini allor comandava,
Che un(o) gran(de) vasello fuosse apparechiato,
E quelli (di) subito lo apparechiava
D' acqua bullente pleno e rasato;
Poi dentro [quello] la fece ghietare,
Per far ad magior tormento stentare.

Stando la virgene in quel tormento
Comintiò orare con gran divotione:
'O Jesu Christo, mio reficiamento,
Signa questa acqua colla tua oratione

Che di tal[e] baptismo me contento
Per haver più conpita salvatione.'
Conme questa oratione ella dicia,
Totti quant' i lighami se rompia.

Ver il cïel la sancta have guardato,
E vidi la sancta croce beata,
Una candida columba gli era ad latto,
Chi era di Spir(i)to Sancto illuminata,
Una (radiante) corona tenia inbechato,
Qual era da Dïo glorificata,
E misila, con gran solennitate,
In testa alla donzela de pietate.

Quando [e]l populo dela contrata
(Ciò) vide(ro) che Dio gli era demonstrato,
f. 5[A], col. 1 Fra lor faceano gran murmurata,
Dicendo: 'Lo Prefetto è redeghato,
Certo questa donzela è condennata
Contra ragione, gran torto gli è fatto.'
Per quel miracol[o], ch' avian visto,
Gridando comincior(on) adorar Christo.

Oldendo tal gridi lo 'mperatore
Se cominciò multo forte ad turbare
E, pleno d' ira e di gran furore,
Cinque milia ne fece appigliare;
Non gli valse possanza nen amore,
Che totti quanti gli fece menare
Al campo d' Arminía deputato,
Ad qual toti fuo il collo tagliato.

Così fuo sententiata Margarita,
Che 'l capo del busto gli fuosse mozato (*sic*);
Andogli Marco per toglier la vita
Con quella spata sanguinenta allato,
E Margarita forte fuo stermita,
Ma con duolceza Marco ebbe pregato,
Dicendoli: 'Lasciame alquanto orare,
Ch' io mi possa ad Christo ricomendare.'

636 MS. sp̃u ; illuminato. 658 Possibly the author wrote co' instead of capo.

E Marco gli rispuoxe voluntiera:
'Fati(ati), Madonna, la vostra oratione,
E sì vi prieco (che) faciati preghiera
Per me, ch' io possa andare ad salvatione,
Che quella serpa rigoglioxa e fiera
Non possa haver[e] sopra me rasone.'
Alor ella molto divotamente
Commintiò questa oration(e) sequente.

'O Jesu Christo, patre glorioso,
Che mensurasti la terra e mare,
Intendi questo priego pïetoxo,
Qual in gratia vogliovi domandare,
Che colui chi serà voluntaroxo
Di questa mia passione abscultare,
Glie siano totti quanti perdonati
Offensione, ingiurie e peccati.

Un' altra gratia voglio(vi) domandare
Qual ti prieco vogli exaldire,
Che la donna chi à nel parto penare,
E questa passione vorà aldire
f. 5[A], col. 2 O sopra sè la vorà conservare,
Che tu la soccorri in li suoi martiri,
Nen gli nasca creatura sidrata,
Nen di brutta nascenza fistulata.

Non sia malsano, nen disgratiato,
Nen possa sopra sè macule havere,
Ma sia colla tua gratia presïatio,
E possia sempre far il tuo piacere,
Prestali mai non sia condennato
Da mala lingua nen per mal volere.'
Dicendo lei questa sancta oratione,
Dirove in breve la sua passione.

Una sancta voce dal cïel viene,
Qual[e] da Jesu Christo fuo mandata,

666 MS. Fati, the other letters are written above the line. 669 Possibly we ought to read orgoglioxa, instead of rigoglioxa. 671 molto added in the margin. 679 MS. perdonato corrected by the same hand to perdonatj.

Che dicea: 'Exaudita è multo bene
La giusta gratia ch[e] ài dimandata.'
E poi gli dixi: 'O Margarita viene
Da angioli del ciel siei aspettata.'
La virgine have ringratïato
Christo, che di exaudirla era dignato.

Dopoi ad Marco cominciò ad dire:
'Quando ti piace fa ciò ch' ài ad fare.'
Ello (gli) rispuoxe: 'Non te osso ferire,
Pero poxoti non credo più scampare,
E, perchè ho paura di morire,
Veramente non te osso tochare.'
Ella gli dixi: 'Se ciò non farai,
Sapi mechuo parte non haverai.'

Marco, senza più dimorasone,
La sanguinenta spatta have pigliato,
Staxendo la virgine in oratione,
Ebbe il spirito ad Dio ricomendato,
E Marco il capo gli fece volare
Dal busto e luy fuo in terra strangossato.
Or voglio dir con quanta legreza
Fuo adcompagnata in l' eternal duolceza.

Quella anima sancta stata sì forte
Da gli angioul dil cielo fuo levata,
Ella, condutta dal (suo) nemico ad morte,
Però la fuo presso ad Christo exaltata;
f. 5[B]. Cossì prieco vuy che per tal sorte,
(O) donne, la vostra vita sia guidata,
Che quando l' anima changiarà luoco,
Sentir non possa del eternal fuoco.

Et io prieco Dio Patre onnipotente
Ch' el sia in socorso di questa donna
E vuy lo pregha[re]ti humilmente
Per l' autor dila expositione buona,

711 MS. Margarita gli dixi.... 720 MS. nel eternal. 725 MS. Cossa.
731 The scribe seems to have confused the forms of pregare in ll. 731 and 733.

Anchuor la preca(re)ti divotamente
Che li nostri peccati ne perdona.
Finita è questa sancta passione
Or vi tornati ad Dio con divotione,

Ch' è signor d' ogni iusta gratia,
Che nel paradixo pona le sue bracia.
Per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit oratio virginis Margarite in modum tuschum.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY CAROLS BY JOHN AUDELAY[1].

[XIII] **ffac ad quod venisti**

Hit is þe best erele & late
vche mon kepe his oune state

In wat order or what degre
hole cherche haþ bownd þe to
kepe hit wele I cownsel þe
Dissire þu neuer to go þer fro
f. 29v col. 2 I say all gate vt supra

A hye worchip hit is to þe
To kepe þi state & þi good name
Leud or lered were here hit be
Ellis god & mon þay wol þe blame
I say al gate vt supra

ffore iiij abusions now schul ȝe here
þat god hatis hile in his syȝt
A harde prest a proud frere
An hold mon lechoure a couard knyȝt
I say al gate vt supra

A prest schuld scheu vche mon mekenes
& leue in loue & charite
þroȝ his grace & his goodnes
Set al oþer in unite
I say al gate vt supra

A frere schuld loue alle holenes
Prayers penans & pouert[e]
Relegious men crist hem ches
To fore sake pride & vayn glory
I say al gate vt supra

[1] Continued from Volume V, p. 490.

An hold mon schuld kepe him chaste
& leue þe synne of lechore
Al wedid men schuld be stedfast
& fore sake þe syn of avowtre
I sai al gate vt supra

A kny3t schuld fe3t a3ayns falsnes
& schew his monhod & his my3t
& mayntene trouþ & ry3twysnes
& hole cherche & wedowes ry3t
I say al gate vt supra

here be al þe foure astatis
In hole cherche god haþ ordent
he bedis 3ou kepe hem wel al gate
wos euer he chamys he wyl be schent
I say al gate vt supra

[XIV] Cantalena de puericia

And god wold graunt me my prayer
A child a3ene I wold I were

ffore pride in herte he hatis alle one
worchip ne reuerens kepis he non
Ne he is wroþ with no mon
In charete is alle his chere

he wot neuer wat is envy
he wol vche mon fard wele him by
he couetis no3t vnlaufully
ffore chere stons is his tresoure

f.30 col.1 (*foliated* 31) In hert he hatis lechori
To here þer of he is sory
he fleþ þe syn of glotere
Noþer etis ne drynkis bot for mystere

Slouþ he putis away al gate
& wol be bese erle & late
Al wyckidnes þus he doþ hate
þe .vij. dedle synns al in fere

A gracious lyfe for soþe he has
To god ne mon doþ no trespas
& I in syn fal alas
Euere day in þe ȝere

My ioy my myry is fro me clene
I turne to care turment & tene
Ded I wold þat I had bene
when I was borne & layd on bere

ffore better hit were to be vnboren
þen fore my synes to be forelorne
Nere grace of god þat is be forne
Al mysdede & hole prayere

Now oþer cumford se I non
Bot schryue me clene with contricion
& make here trew satisfaccion
& do my penans wyle y am here

[xv] In die epephanis &c.

Nowel nowel nowel
þer is a babe born of a may
In saluacion of vs
þat he be heryd in þis day
vene creatore spiritus

In bedlem in þat fayre plas
þis blessid barne borne he was
him to serue god grawnt vs grace
Tu trinitatis vnitas

þe angelis to chepardis songyn & sayd
Pes in erþ be mon vnto
þer with þai were ful sore afrayd
Glorea in exelsis deo

þe chepardis hard þat angel song
þai hered on god in trenete
Moche mery was ham among
Iam lucis ortus sidere

.iij. kyngis þai soȝt hi*m* herefore
Of dyu*ers* lond & fere cu*n*tre
& askidyn were þis barne was bore
hostes herodes impij

he bad ha*m* go seche þis barne
f. 30 col. 2 Anon þis way to me he come
þa*t* I may do hym worchip be forne
Deus creator omn*ium*

þe stere apered here face be forne
þa*t* gladid here hertes ful graciously
Ou*er* þa*t* plase þis babe was born
Ih*es*u saluotor *secu*li

þai knelid adowne w*ith* gret reu*ere*[n]s
Gold sens & myr þai offerd hi*m* to
he blessid ha*m* al þa*t* were p*re*sent
Ih*es*u no*s*tra redem*p*cio

þe gold betokens he was a kyng
þe sens a p*re*st of dyngnete
þe myr betokynþ h*is* bereyng
Magne deus pote*n*cie

þe angel he*m* warnyd *in* here slepyng
At erod þe kyng þai schuld not cu*m*me
þa*t* babe ȝou bade on his blessyng
chri*st*e redemptore omn*ium*

þai turnyd þe*n* anoþe*r* way
In to kyngdom ful graciously
þe*n* þai be gone*n* to syng & say
Saluator mu*n*dy do*m*ine

[XVI] de sancta Anna matr*e* marie

The mod*er* of mary þa*t* m*er*ceful may
p*ra*y fore vs boþ nyȝt & day

Swete saynt tanne we þe be seche
þu p*ra*y fore vs to oure laday
þa*t* heo wel be oure soulis leche
þa*t* day whe*n* we schul dey
here fore we say

þroȝ þe was gladid alle þis word
when mare of þe borne was
þat bere þat barne þat blisful lord
þat grawntis vs al merce & grace
here fore we say

Baren þu were ful long before
þen god he se to þi mekenes
þat þu schuldist delyuer þat was forelore
Mon soule þat lay in þe fyndis distres
here fore we say

fore ioachym þat hole housbond
prayyd to god ful paciently
þat he wold send his swete sond
Sum froyte be twene ȝou two to be
here fore we say

þen god hem grawntid graciously
f. 30ᵛ col. 1 Betwene ȝoue two a floure schul spryng
(31ᵛ) þe rote þer of is clepid iesse
þat ioye & blis to þe word schal beryng
here fore I say

þe blisful branche þis floure on greue
Out of iesse at my wettyng
was mare myld þat bere ihesu
Maydyn & moder to heuen kyng
here fore I say

Icallid ihesus of nazaret
God sun of hi degre
as here as mon þat sofyrd deþ
& rynyd in to dauit dygnete
here fore I say

In bedlem in þat blessid place
Mare myld þis floure haþ borne
Be twene an ox & an as
To saue his pepil þat was fore lorne
here fore I say

Mat*er* ora filiu*m*
þ*at* he wyl affte*r* þis outlere
nobis donet gaudiu*m*
Sine fyne fore h*is* me*r*ce
here fore I say

[XVII] alia cantalena de s*anc*ta maria

There is a floure spr[u]ng of a tre
þe rote þ*er* of is callid iesse
A floure of p*r*yce
þ*er* is no*n* seche i*n* paradise

þis flo*ur* is fayre & fresche of heue
h*it* fadis neue*r* bot eue*r* is new
þe blisful branche þis flo*ur* on grew
was mare myld þ*at* bare ihū
A flo*ur* of grace
Aȝayns al sorow h*it* is solas

þe sede here of was godis sond
þ*at* god hi*m* selue sew w*ith* h*is* hond
In bedle*m* i*n* þ*at* hole lond
i*n* medis here herbere þ*er* he hir fond
þis blisful floure
Sprang neue*r* bot i*n* maris boure

whe*n* gabrael þis mayd met
w*ith* aue maria he here gret
Be twene he*m* two þis flo*ur* was set
& kept was no mo*n* schul wit
houe on a day
In bedle*m* h*it* co*n* spred & spray

whe*n* þ*at* floure be ga*n* to sprede
& his his blossu*m* to bede
ryche & pore of eue*r*e lede
þai maruelt hou þ*is* flo*ur* myȝt sprede
And kyngnge .iij.
f. 30ᵛ col. 2 þ*at* blesful floure come to se

Angelis þer cam out of here toure
To loke apon þis freschele floure
houe fayre he was in his coloure
& hou sote in his sauour
& to be hold
how soche a flour myȝt spryng in golde

Of lille of rose of ryse
Of prymrol & of flourdelyse
Of al þe flours at my deuyse
ȝet floure of iesse ȝet bers þe prys
as most of hele
To slake oure sorous eueredele

I pray ȝoue flours of þis cuntre
where euere ȝe go were euer ȝe be
hold hup þe flour of good iesse
ffore ȝour freschenes & ȝoure beute
as fayrist of al
& euer was & euer schal
þer is a floure

[XVIII] Et alia de sancta maria

Aue maria now say we so
Moder & maydon was neuer non mo
Gaude maria cristis moder
Mare moder of þyn emne
þu bare my lord þu bare my broder
þu bare a cumle child & clene
þu stodist ful stil without wene
when in þyn ere þis erand was doo
when gracious god þe lyȝt within
Gabrielis nuncio
Aue maria vt supra

Gaude maria y gret with grace
when ihū þi sun of þe was bore
ffol nyȝ þi brest þu con him brace
he secud he soukid he wept ful sore
þu fedist þat flour þat neuer schal fade
with maydns melke & sang þer to
lolay my swete I bare þe babe
cum peudoris lilleo

Gaude maria þi myȝt was away
when *crist* þi son on cros *con* dye
fful dolfully on good fryday
þat mone a mod*er* sone h*it* se
h*is* blod vs boȝt fro care & striue
h*is* watere wondis vs waschid fro w[o]
þe .iij. day fro deþ to liue
ffulget resurecc*io*

Gaude maria þu burd so bryȝt
Breȝt*er* þ*en* þe blossu*m* þ*at* blomyþ *on* þe hill
f. 31 col. 1 fful ioyful þu were to se seche a syȝt
(*foliated* 30) & al þe postilis so swet of wil
ffore al & su*m* þai stod ful stil
when fayrst of chap he swond ȝoue fro
ffro erþe to heu*en* he stynd ful stil
Motu fertur p*ro*pr*io*

Gaude m*aria* þ*at* rose on ryse
Mod*er* & maid gentil & fre
P*re*cious perrles p*r*inces of pes
þi boure is next þe t*r*inete
þi su*n* as soueal kn*o*n of kynd
þi bode & soule he toke h*im* to
þu restist w*ith* h*im* þ*er* as we fynd
In celi palac*io*.

[XIX] & de *sanc*ta maria

Heyle of wymm*en* flo*ur* of all*e*
þu herst vs wh*en* we to þe call*e*

Blessid mot þu be þu berd so bryȝt
Mod*er* & maid*on* most of myȝt
þu art þe ster of days lyȝt
& kepust vs wh*en* we schul fall*e*

Of all*e* lordis þ*at* eu*er* was bor*en*
Blessid mot þu be boþ eu*en* & morn
þroȝ þe were sauyd þ*at* were fore lorne
Mone on beþ gret & smale

hayle to þe was swettle sayd
when ihesu in þe he was consayued
& þroȝ þe was þe fende afrayd
þu madist vs fre to make him þralle

hayle chif chosen garbunkul ston
Of þe was borne boþ god & mon
when synful mon he makis his mon
To him þu art treu as ston in wal

haile be þu quene emperes of hel
Of al pete þu arte þe wel
we prayn þe dame & damesel
þat þu bryng vs in to þi bal

[xx] de virgin[i]tate

ffor the loue of a maydon fre
I haue me chosen to chastite

BBlessid mot he be oure heuen quene
ffore virgyn & maydyn sheo was ful cleene
Soche anoþer was neuer ȝer sene
þat so wel kept here virgynyte

in word in will in dede in thoȝt
here maydehood defowled shee noȝt
þer fore þe lorde þat here hade wroght
wolde be boron of hyr body

To fore alle maydenes to hyr he ches
f. 31 col. 2 ffore here clannes & here mekenes
ffore mon soule heo schuld reles
& ffro þe fynd & his pouste

Saynt kateryn & marget & wynfred
þat louyd ful wel here maydhed
þe sofird to smyte of here hede
ffore defouled isold þai not be

þer fore þai be in heuen blis
where murþ & melode euer þer ys
And soo shal all maydons y wys
That kepon heore wordes in here degre

þai foloun *our* lady w*ith* gret reue*rens*
& don here se*r*uys i*n* here p*re*sens
ffore a3ayns þe fynd þai mad*e* defense
w*ith* þe swerd of chastite

[XXI] Cantalena de virginibus

II p*ray* 3oue maydys þ*at* here be
kepe 3o*ur* state & 3o*ur* degre

In werd i*n* dede i*n* wyl i*n* þo3t
3o*ur* maydyn hede defoule 3e no3t
lest to blame þ*at* 3e ben bro3t
& lese 3o*ur* state 3o*ur* honeste

An vndur marke c*r*i*st* co*n* 3ou lene
To marc w*ith* kepe h*it* clene
3if 3e h*it* tame h*it* wil be sene
Do 3e neue*r* soo preuely

of þ*at* tresour me*n* ben ful fayne
& al here loue on 3oue þai lay[ne]
& mone a pene fore h*it* þai pay[ne]
Boþ selue*r* & gold lond & fe

3if þ*at* tresoure 3e don h*it* tame
whe*n* h*it* is knowyn 3e wil haue chame
Of þ*er* fore 3e berne gret blame
Neue*r* on be o*þer* ware wil be

Nad þ*at* tresoure bene iwro3t
To blis we had not bene e bro3t
h*it* faylis neue*r* ne fadis no3t
Eue*r* to mo*n* h*it* is redy

3if 3e kepyn wele þ*at* tresoure
h*it* schal 3ou bryng to hie honoure
þa3 3e be fayre of freche coloure
Beute is no3t w*ith*out bonte

Trewly nyer þ*at* tresoure were
Of me*n* 3e schuld haue febul chere
avyse 3ou who*m* 3e loue h*it* here
3if 3e ben begild þ*at* blame not me

ffore oþ*er* cownsel nedis ȝoue non
f. 31ᵛ col. 1 þ*en* doþ þ*er* aft*er* eu*e*rechon
(30ᵛ) ffore þis tresoure has holpyn mone hone
h*it* marys maydis vche cuntre

[XXII] de matrimonio mulierum

Avyse ȝoue wem*en* wom ȝe trust
& be ware of had I wyst

h*it* is ful heue chastite
w*ith* mone maydyns now oday
þ*at* louyn to haue g*am* & gle
þ*at* turnes to sorowe soþly to say
Alleday þu sist

Now ȝif a wom*on* mared schal be
Ano*n* heo schal be boȝt & solde
ffore no loue of hert truly
Bot fore couetyse of lond ore gold
Al day þu seest

Bot þus godis low & h*is* wil wolde
Even of blod of good of ache
ffore loue to ged*er* þ*us* com þai schuld
ffore þis makis mecle mareache
Al day þu sees[t]

& þe froyt þ*at* coms ho*m* betwene
h*it* schal haue grace to þryue & þe
þ*er* oþ*er* schal haue turm*en*t & tene
ffore couetyse vnlawfully
Al day þu seest

þ*er* is no creatuere as wretyn I fynd
Saue onele mo*n* þ*at* outtrache
Bot þe syn ho*m* makys of here oune kynd
& so þai makyn treu mareache
All day þu seest

Bot now a lady wil take a page
ffore no loue bot fleschele lust
& so here blod is disp*a*rage
þ*us* lord*us* & lordchip alday ben lost
Al a day þu seest

Lordis and lordchip *þus* wastyn away
In englond *in* mone a place
þat makis false ayrs *hit* is no nay
& lese worchip honowre & grace
Al day þu seest

[XXIII] de amore dei

I haue a loue is heue*n* kyng
I loue h*is* loue fore eu*er* more

ffore loue is loue & eu*er* schal be
& loue has bene ore we were bore
ffore loue he askys no no*þer* fe
Bot loue a3ayn he kepis no more
I say here fore

Trew loue is tresoure trust is store
f. 31v col. 2 To a loue to godis plesyng
Bot leude loue makis me*n* a lore
To loue here lust & here lykyng
I say here fore

In good loue *þer* is no syn
w*ith*ot loue is heuenes
here fore to loue I nyl not bly[n]
To loue my god & h*is* goodnes
I say here fore

ffor he me louyd or I h*im* knew
þer fore I loue h*im* al *þer* best
Ellis my loue I my3t h*it* new
I loue w*ith* h*im* to take my rest
I say here fore

Of al loue*r*es *þat* eu*er* was borne
h*is* loue h*it* passid eu*er*echon
nad he vs louy[d] we were fore lorne
w*ith* [out] is loue trew loue is non
I say herefore

[XXIV] **Timor mortis conturbat me**

Lade helpe ihesu merce
Timor mortis conturbat me

Dred of deþ sorow of syn
Trobils my hert ful greuysly
My soule hit nyþ with my lust þen
Passio christi confarte me

ffore blyndnes is a heue þyng
& to be def þer with only
To lese my lyȝt & my heryng
Passio christi conforta me

& to lese my tast & my smellyng
& to be seke in my body
here haue I lost al my lykyng
Passio christi conforta me

þus god he ȝeues & takys away
& as he wil so mot hit be
his name be blessid beþ nyȝt & daye
passio christi conforta me

here is a cause of gret mornyng
Of my selfe no þyng I se
Saue filþ vnclennes vile stynkyng
Passio christi conforta me

In to þis word no more I broȝt
no more I gete with me trewly
Saue goodded word wil & þoȝt
Passio christi conforta me

The .v. wondis of ihesu crist
My midsyne now mot þai be
þe fyndis pouere downe to cast
f. 32 col. 1 passio christi conforta me

as I lay seke in my langure
with sorow of hert & teere of ye
þis caral I made with gret doloure
passio christi conforta me

Oft with þese prayere I me blest
In manus tuas domine
þu take my soule in to þi rest
passio christi conforta me

mare moder merceful may
ffore þe ioys þu hadist lady
Of þi sun fore me þu pray
passio christi conforta me

lerne þis lesson of blynd awdlay
when bale is hyest þen bot may be
3if þu be nyd ny3t or day
Say passio christi conforta me

[XXV] de sancto francisco

Saynt frances to þe I say
Saue þi breder boþ ny3t & day

A hole confessoure þu were hone
& leuydist in contemplacion
To þyng on cristis passioun
þat sofyrd deþ on good fryday
Saynt frawnces to þe I pray

his passion was in þe so feruent
þat he aperd to þi present
vp on þi body he set his prynt
his .v. wondis hit is no nay

vpon þi body þu hem bere
affter þat tyme ful .iij. 3e[re]
To al men sy3t þai did apere
No water my3t wasche hem away

weder þu schuldist ete ore drenke
On cristis passion þu woldist þynke
In .v. partys wes þi partyng
Of his sustinans soþe to say

Crist he grawnt þe specialy
ffore on his passion þu hadist pete
To feche þi breder out of purgatori
þat lyin þer in rewful aray

Þu þongis cr*i*st of h*i*s swete sonde
& þo3tist to go to þe hole londe
ffore dred of deþ þu woldist not wond
To teche þe pepil þi cr*i*styn fay

Þe*n* cr*i*st he knew welle þen entent
& turned þe out of þa*t* talent
& bede þe make þi testament
& come to me fore eue*r* & ay

f. 32 col. 2 A hole frawnces now I se
ffore my loue þa*t* þu woldist dye
Þu schalt haue ioy pe*r*petual[ly]
Þu hast dyssired mone a day

h*i*s hole reule of relegiowne
To his brede*r* he wrote anon
& pra*y*d ha*m* fore cr*i*stis passiowne
To kepe hit wel boþ ny3t & day

A sad ensampil here mow 3e se
On cr*i*stis passioun to haue pete
& to leue i*n* loue & charete
Þe*n* mere i*n* hert be 3e may

h*i*s last pra*y*er to cr*i*st þis was
ffore al þa*t* sustens þis hole place
Gr[a]cious god grawnt ha*m* þi grace
To fore þi iugeme*n*t at domysday

pra*y* we to frawnses þa*t* beþ pr*e*sent
To saue his brede*r* & his couent
þa*t* þai be neue*r* chamyd ne chent
wi*th* wyckid ma*n* ne fyndis fray

I pra*y* 3oue se*r*is pa*r* charyte
redis þis caral reue*r*ently
ffore I mad hi*t* wi*th* wepyng eye
3o*ur* brode*r* ion þe blynd awdlay

NOTES

[xiii] 13. The scribe apparently wrote 'obisions,' and iiij is written above between the first and second words.
14. hile] i.e. highly.
41. wos] perhaps read 'wom'=whom.
he chamys] first written 'be chamyd' and corrected by a second hand.

[xiv] 11 ff. fol. 30 of the MS. is interchanged with fol. 31.
26. 'borne' is written by the second hand over a deletion.

[xv] 22. The line is repeated by the scribe's error at the beginning of the second column.

[xvi] 7, 12, etc. See above, xiii, 7 etc. where the scribe has inserted 'vt supra' to show the point where the burden is taken up.
34. God sun] read 'Godis sun.'
44. outlere] i.e. outlawry.

[xvii] This carol was printed (in a modified spelling) in *Early English Lyrics*, no. LVII, p. 110. There is another version in the Balliol MS. 354, printed by Flügel in *Anglia*, vol. xxvi, p. 230 and elsewhere.
3, 4. Written as one line in the MS.
20. Ball. MS. 'and kept it ys for yt was dett.'
21. The first word is doubtful.
24. This line and the next are written on one line in the MS.
30. Ball. MS. 'And kept it ys for yt was dett.'
& his his] the second word is doubtful.
to bede] Balliol MS. 'for to woyde.' Holthausen, in *Anglia*, vol. xvii, p. 442, 'brede' or 'sede.'
27. The first word is dim.
kyngnge] read 'kynges.'
34. golde] Balliol MS. 'molde.'
38. ȝet floure] Ball. MS. 'The flowr.'

[xviii] The Balliol MS. 354 contains another text of this carol (*Anglia*, vol. xxvi, p. 226 f.), of which the principal variations are here given.
4. þyn emne] written in one word; the second half may be 'enme,' the scribe's error (by confusion with a more familiar word) for 'ene,' rhyming with 'clene.' 'ene'=lamb: cf. yean, eanling, and see Murray N. E. D. s.v. 'ean' and 'ene.' The Ball. MS. reads 'Mary mylde of the I mene.'
7. wene] Ball. MS. 'blyn.'
10, 11. Transposed in the MS.
12. y gret] Ball. MS. 'yglent.'
15. Ball. MS. 'He sowked, he sighhed.'
20. myȝt] Ball. MS. 'myrth.'
29. Ball. MS. 'Bryghter than blossum *yat* blowith on hill.'
31 f. Ball. MS. 'When the apostles so set of will
All & sum did shry full shryll.'
33. 'fayrst of chap'=fairest of shape.
swond] i.e. disappeared. Ball. MS. 'went.'
34. stynd] perhaps for 'styud,' i.e. ascended. Ball. MS. 'styed.'
38. pes] Ball. MS. 'pris.'
40. soueal kno*n*] the *e* of 'soueal' is written above the line: 'kno*n*' is perhaps for 'know(e)n.'
41. Ball. MS. 'In body & soule the toke hym to.'
43. The Balliol MS. adds another stanza.

[xix] 10. Mone on] i.e. many a one.
12. consayued] the *e* is superscript.
13. 'fende' is a correction of the second hand.

[xx] The title and the refrain are inserted by the second hand.
4. The MS. gives this as two lines: but after 'maydyn' the second hand comes in and writes to l. 11, the foot of the column.
5. ȝer] for 'er,' i.e. before this time.
18. defouled] corrected by the second hand. A line is left blank after this line in the MS., and two lines between 22 and 23.

[xxi] 9. tame] i.e. defile: cf. 15.
10. Corrected by the second hand.
12, 13. The last two letters of each line are deleted by a mark on the parchment.
19. 'Nad'=ne had.
27. nyer] perhaps for 'nere'=ne were, with 'were' repeated redundantly, meaning 'If that treasure were not.'

[xxii] 2. had I wyst] 'Ever beware of had-I-wist' is a very frequent line in early poetry. A large number of references, which yet might be increased, is collected by Zupitza in his note on *The Prouerbis of Wisdom*, l. 90 (*Archiv für die neueren Sprachen*, vol. xc, p. 258).
5. gam & gle] 'play' has been written and corrected to 'gle.'
14. ache] i.e. age, as 'mareache' (l. 16) marriage, and 'outtrache' (l. 24) outrage.

[xxiii] 9. The MS. gives 'with is loue.'

[xxiv] The Latin phrase is the burden of other contemporary poems: see one in *Early English Lyrics*, no. LXXXIII, p. 150, from Balliol MS. 354; and another from Bodleian MS. Engl. Poet. e. 1, printed by T. Wright, *Songs and Carols* (Percy Society, 1847), p. 57. But while these two resemble each other, Audelay's is quite different.
5. nyþ] cf. 'nyd,' l. 45: for 'noyeth,' 'noyed.'
23. word] i.e. world.
40. Between 'ioys' and 'þu' is a deleted word.

[xxv] 7. The first line of the refrain written with 'pray' for 'say' by mistake.
14. The last word, originally 'opyn,' corrected by the second hand.
40. Between the two last words is a deletion.

We are under great obligation to Mr G. C. Macaulay for his help in the editing and annotating of these texts.

E. K. Chambers.
F. Sidgwick.

London.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

The Craven Angels.

In his essay on the Demonology of Dante (*Miti e leggende del medio evo* ii, p. 82) Mr Arturo Graf has quoted authors with regard to the angels who took no side in the Great Rebellion. The places referred to are in the *Voyage of St Brandan*, in *Huon d'Auvergne*, in *Parzival*. Another passage may be added to these, taken from the *Southern English Legendary*, of which many MSS. are extant (ed. Horstmann, E.E.T.S. Laud MS.):—

Seint Miȝhel was maister to driuen hom out of heuene adoun:
Þat was þe batayle þat he made with þe luþere dragoun,
Þe maister-dragoun lucifer and is riȝte felawes ech-on,
Þat faste heolden with is pruyte, he drof heom to helle anon;
Ake huy þat heolden sumdel with him and nouȝt fulliche so faste,
Out of heouene he drof heom and into þe lofte heom caste,
Al here bineþe toward þe eorþe, þare mest tempest is,
And þare heo schullen in pine beo to þe daye of dome iwis;
And ase hore gult þe more was, heore pine was al-so;
Þe worse stude heom was i-take heore penaunce for-to do;
Ake to helle huy ne schullen nouȝt are domes-day iwende,
Ak þar huy schullen afterward bileue with-outen ende.
Oþure þare weren þat for him sumdel in misþouȝte weren,
Ake natheles huy heolden betere with god, ak vnneþe furbere;
Þulke wenden out of heouene al-so and aboue þe oþure beoth,
An heiȝ onder þe firmament and godes will i-seoth,
And so schullen sumdel in pine beo a-non to þe worldes ende,
Ake huy schullen at domes-day aȝein to heouene wende.
In eorthþeliche parays sum beoth ȝeot al-so,
And in oþure studes on eorþe hure penaunce for-to do.
For heore defaute in heouene þoruȝ ore louerdes grace,
Man was formest on eorþe i-wrouȝt to fulfille þulke place.
For ten ordres of aungles þare weren i-makede þo,
And þe teoþe ordre ful a-doun in-to pine and wo;
And ȝeot þare beot ordres nyne, and þare-fore man is i-wrouȝt,
To fulfulle þe teoþe ordre þat was out of heouene i-brouȝt.

(*Legendary*, E.E.T.S. 87, p. 305.)

Further, this admirable poet goes on to derive the Fairies from the same source:

> And ofte in fourme of wommane, in many derne weye,
> grete compaygnie men i-seoth of heom boþe hoppie and pleiȝe,
> þat eluen beoth i-cleopede; and ofte heo cometh to toune,
> and bi daye muche in wodes heo beoth, and bi niȝte ope heiȝe dounes;
> þat beoth þe wrechche gostes þat out of heuene weren i-nome,
> and manie of heom a-domesday ȝeot schullen to reste come.

The belief is connected in various other places with the genesis of the Elves or Fairies. It is so in Iceland, in Arnason's *Tales* (I, p. 5). 'When the Devil long ago made revolt in heaven he and all who fought along with him were driven out of heaven into the uttermost darkness. But those who were neither with him nor against him and took no part in either band were driven down to the earth, and their dwelling appointed for them in knolls and hills and rocks, and they are called Elves or the Hidden People ("álfar eða huldumenn").'

The same theory is found in Ireland. 'The general belief of the peasantry is that the existing fairies are those angels who without openly joining Satan in his rebellion gave it no opposition. Their future destiny will be determined at the day of judgment[1].'

It may be due in part to the Platonic demonology, as stated by St Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, VIII, mainly after Apuleius *de Deo Socratis*, ultimately from the description of daemons in the *Symposium*. The passages were well known; they may be found in the common-place book printed in the Rolls edition of R. de Diceto, Vol. I, p. 46. Geoffrey of Monmouth quotes Apuleius, in a chapter on the birth of Merlin. It was from Apuleius that Chaucer got the 'eyrish bestes' of the *House of Fame*; these are the 'aeria animalia' of Apuleius and St Augustine—the daemons of the air—

> many a citezeyn
> Of which that speketh dan Plato.

It is well known that this phrase is suggested by the 'aerios cives' of the *Anticlaudian*, IV, c. 5; Chaucer has added his own note, naming the authority accepted in that passage by Alanus de Insulis, and by Chaucer himself independently.

The belief in the caitiff angels (who took no side for God or against him) seems to be a natural inference from the aerial spirits. Opinions may differ as to their ultimate fate at the Judgment (the Southern *Legendary* is interesting here) but their present dwelling is not in the outer darkness; they are not fiends in Hell. The present indifference

[1] Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, 1891, p. 128.

and ambiguous nature of the 'aery citizens' must come from an ambiguous source; they are not fiends, they are not angels, therefore it is argued that they simply cannot have taken sides in the War in Heaven.

The Fairy Genesis can be understood as a half learned transference of this argument and belief from the aerial daemons (described by philosophers and theologians) to the race of elves as known in folk-lore—'far from heaven, and safe from hell.' The elves, with their half human nature, need explaining as well as the Platonic daemons; and the theory that explains the 'eyrish bestes' will do also for the people of the fairy-knolls.

Dryden has brought together the two ideas, of indifference, and of the Platonic spirits, in *The Hind and the Panther*:

> If, as our dreaming Platonists report,
> There could be spirits of a middle sort,
> Too black for heaven, and yet too white for hell,
> Who just dropt half-way down, nor lower fell.

The Christian Platonists of the seventeenth century seem to have drawn, independently, the conclusion which is here suggested to explain the craven angels, as known to Dante and his English contemporary.

W. P. Ker.

London.

Latin Plays Acted at Cambridge.

Four Latin Plays were published together in 1648, *Loiola, Stoicus Vapulans, Cancer* and *Paria*. Of these we know that *Loiola* by Hacket and *Paria* by Vincent were acted at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1622/3 and 1627/8 respectively, and *Stoicus Vapulans* at St John's at Christmas 1618. We conclude that *Cancer* was also a Cambridge play, though its authorship and place of production are unknown.

I find that the source of *Cancer* is Lionardo Salviati's play *Il Granchio*, contained in the work, *Due Commedie del Cavalier Lionardo Salviati, Il Granchio, e la Spina E vn Dialogo dell' Amicizia del medesimo Autore Nuouamente ristampate, e corrette In Firenze Nella Stamperia di Cosimo Giunti* MDCVI. The Latin author keeps the characters of his original (substituting however the name Rodericus for Duti, Sempronius for Vanni, Fannius for Tofano, and Faber for Baccheri Magnano). He adds new characters, Lucilius, Ursilia, Gallus, Erminia and Albertus, and interpolates a number of scenes.

The source of *Paria* (which perhaps means 'The Pairs') is *Le due*

Sorelle Rivali comedia nova di Eusebio Luchetti. in Vinegia MDCIX *Presso gli Heredi d' Altobello Salicaio.* There is great divergence in the treatment, judging from the characters who appear in the different scenes. Certain names are the same in both, Lidonia (Lidonia), Fulvius (Fulvio), Brilla (Brilla). No new characters appear.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

Shakespeare, 'King Lear,' iv, vi, 70—72.

> he had a thousand Noses,
> Hornes wealk'd, and waued like the enraged Sea:
> It was some Fiend.

For 'wealk'd' the Cambridge Shakespeare records the following variants: *welk't* Q_1. *welkt* Q_2 Q_3. *wealk'd* F_1 F_2. *walk'd* F_3 F_4.

Pope conjectured *welk'd*, and Hanmer *whelk'd*, explaining, 'a whelk is such a rising tumour upon the skin as the lash of a switch or whip leaves behind it.' But that Malone's explanation 'twisted, convolved' is correct seems to be proved by the following passage from Golding's translation of Ovid, *Metam.*, v, 415—8:

> She saide that *Jove* the Prince of Gods was wride
> In shape of Ram: which is the cause that at this present tide
> *Joves* ymage which the Lybian folke by name of Hammon serve,
> Is made with crooked welked hornes that inward still do terve.

The original has:

> unde recuruis
> nunc quoque formatus Libys est cum cornibus Ammon.
> Ovid, *Met.*, v. 327.

It may be added that the 'crooked welked hornes that inward still do terve' are well represented in an old woodcut of the Devil reproduced in Hone's *Ancient Mysteries Described* (ed. 1823) p. 142, from *Der Schelmen Zunft* (1506).

W. H. Williams.

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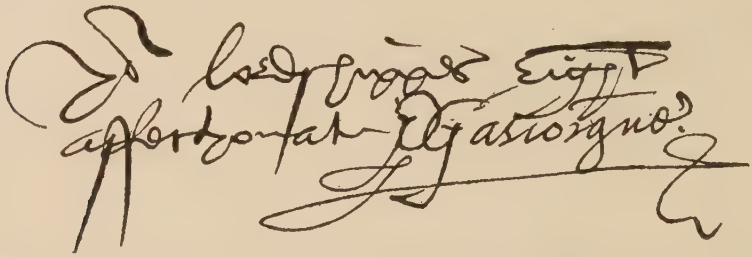
'The Spoyle of Antwerpe' (1576).

The authorship of this remarkable pamphlet has long hung in a balance of probabilities. It was indeed clear that the writer, who states that he left Antwerp on November 12, 1576, charged by the Governor of the English Merchants to report their distresses to the Queen and

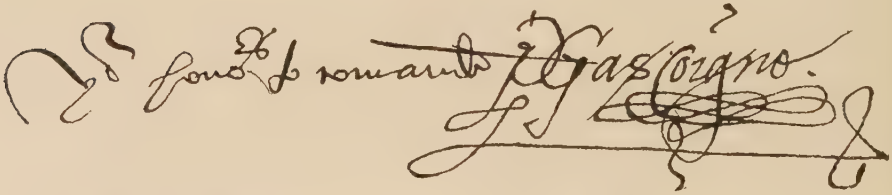
Council , was the Master George Gascon or Gaston, whom the Governor, Thomas Heton, in his letter of November 10, commends to the Privy Council as the authorized messenger of the Fellowship[2]. But Hunter[3] held that the poet Gascoigne was not the person referred to, because (1) as the son of a knight, he was entitled to be, and was always, styled Esquire ; (2) in May, 1576, when Gascoigne finished *The Droomme of Doomes day*, he described himself as 'in weake plight for health,' and he was unable to correct the proofs of this work as it was going through the press[4]; as he died in October, 1577, it seemed reasonable to suppose that he was unlikely in September, October and November of 1576 to be making the journeys and performing the exploits undertaken by the reporter of Antwerp. Moreover, in the dedicatory epistle to 'Lewes Dyve of Broomeham, in the Countie of Bedforde,' dated August 10, 1576, and prefixed to *A delicate Diet, for daintiemouthde Droonkardes*, which was published on August 22, 1576, Gascoigne says 'soone after Mighelmas (by Gods leave) I wyll see you[5],' so that at that time he evidently expected to be in England at the end of September and the beginning of October—just when the Antwerp reporter was making his way from Paris to Flanders. But there is a month's space between the middle of August, when Gascoigne thought he was going to be in England, and the middle of September, when the reporter was at Paris ; and in a month much may happen. At the beginning of the year, in dedicating the versions of *The Tale of Hemetes the Heremyte* to the Queen, Gascoigne had made a very direct appeal for employment in the royal service[6] ; and it appears that the petition was granted, for a year later (January 1, 1577) he sent *The Grief of Joye* to the Queen 'that I might make youre Majestie witnesse, how the *Interims* and vacant howres of those daies which I spent this sõñer in your service have byn bestowed[7].' To suspect that there were two George Gascoignes in the royal service in the summer of 1576 seems carrying incredulity a long way, but even this possibility of doubt is removed by a comparison of the poet Gascoigne's admitted signature with that of the Antwerp reporter. There are two letters from the latter, dated from Paris, September 15 and October 7, respectively, 1576. There is one of George Gascoigne the poet[8], at the end of the dedication of *The Tale*

[1] Gascoigne's *Complete Works* (Cambridge University Press), Vol. II, p. 599.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. vi.
[3] *Chorus Vatum*, B. M. Additional MS. 24, 487, pp. 448–460.
[4] Gascoigne, Vol. II, pp. 214, 215.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 454.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 477.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 514.
[8] The signature given by Hazlitt from the *Jocasta* MS. is undoubtedly a transcriber's.

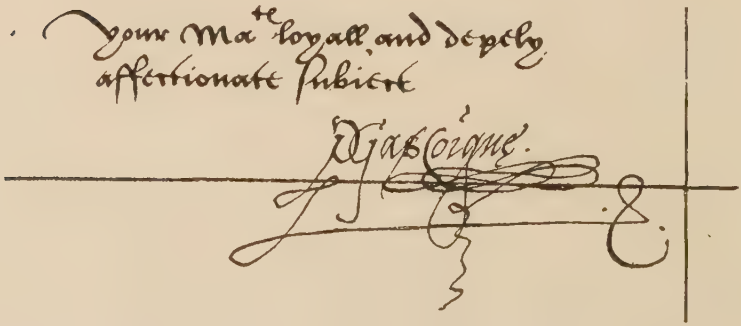
of Hemetes the Heremyte (Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 18 A xlviii). All three signatures are given below, reproduced from photographs, the exact size of the originals, taken by Mr R. B. Fleming, so that the reader can judge for himself of their identity:



Signature of Letter in the Public Record Office (State Papers. Foreign. Elizabeth. Vol. 139, Fol. 169 v°). Written to Burghley from Paris and Dated Sept. 15, 1576.



Signature of Letter in the Public Record Office (State Papers. Foreign. Elizabeth. Vol. 140, Fol. 829). Written to Burghley from Paris and Dated Oct. 7, 1576.



Gascoigne's Signature in Royal MS. 18 A xlviii. Fol. 6 b.

It is now possible, the poet's authorship of the pamphlet being fully established, to set forth his later career more exactly. When Gascoigne wrote the dedicatory epistle to *A delicate Diet*[1], he saw the first step of reparation for his 'wanton (and worse smelling) Poesies' in *The Glasse of Governement*, the dedication of which is dated April 26, 1575. *The Princelye pleasures, at the Courte at Kenelwoorth*, which has survived only in the collected edition of 1587, was evidently published in the first half of 1576 (the printer's address to the reader is dated March 26, 1576, and the opening lines speak of 'July last past'). In April, 1576, Gascoigne completed *The Steele Glas* and *The complaynt of Phylomene*; during the same month he wrote the prefatory epistle to Gilbert's *Discourse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia*, and on May 2 he finished the translation of *The Droomme of Doomes day*. Commendatory verses by him to Turberville's *The Noble Arte of Venerie* and *Cardanus Comforte translated into Englishe* were published in the same year. Altogether, Gascoigne's multifarious activities about this time indicate that his illness in the spring of 1576 was not so serious as Hunter supposed. His request to the Queen for employment on January 1 suggests at least an equal willingness to use the sword and the pen[2], and it is followed in April by a complaint that he is marching 'amongst the Muses for lacke of exercise in martiall exployte[3].' On September 15 he was at Paris, and on October 7 he wrote Burghley that he was setting out the next day for the Low Countries[4]; on October 12 Ambassador Paulet reported to Walsingham that he had started[5]. He arrived at Antwerp on October 22, and was present throughout the various operations of the 'Spoyle' which began on November 3, up to the 12th, when he left for England. He arrived in London on the 21st, for Walsingham records in his *Journal* (p. 29 of the Camden Society edition): 'Mr. Gascoigne came out of the Low Countries with lettres': and Peter Cunningham in the extracts from the Office Books of the Treasurers of the Chamber prefixed to the *Revels Accounts*, published by the Shakespeare Society, has the following:—'Paid uppon a warrant signed by Mr. Secretaire Walsingham dated at Hampton Court xxi° Novembre 1576 to George Gascoigne gent. for bringinge of Lettres in post for her Majesties affaires frome Andwarpe to Hampton Courte, xx^li.' According to Gascoigne's own statement at the end of the tract, he wrote his report on November 25, and it was published the same month.

[1] Gascoigne's *Complete Works*, Vol. II, p. 453. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 473. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 566.
[4] *Calendar of State Papers.* Foreign. 1575–1577. No. 951. [5] *Ibid.* No. 955.

It must have been gratifying to Gascoigne's stirring temperament to be employed in such a difficult and dangerous undertaking as the matter of Antwerp, for which he was fitted by his knowledge of languages and his previous military experiences in Holland[1]; he evidently bore himself in it with prudence as well as courage, and earned the gratitude of the English Adventurers and their Governor. His conduct apparently commended itself to the Queen and her Ministers, for his anonymous pamphlet was published almost with official authority, marked on the title-page, 'Seene and allowed.' It is odd that George Whetstone, in his obituary catalogue of Gascoigne's good deeds and praiseworthy writings[2], should have omitted this, which we should be inclined to regard as the most creditable incident in Gascoigne's life, if not the most remarkable of his literary works; for Gascoigne himself, who was never 'dayntie of his doings,' as his first publisher remarks[3], can hardly have kept the secret from his friend, even if the authorship of the pamphlet were not at the time generally known; but the fact remains that *The Spoyle of Antwerpe* was Gascoigne's, and perhaps we should add to his credit that he was not only able to do well but to keep quiet about his well-doing. If so, he was indeed changed from the roystering and swaggering days of his youth and early middle age.

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John Lyly and the Oxford Stage.

In his recent volume upon John Lyly, Professor Feuillerat has brought to light interesting new biographical facts concerning him. I believe that, unless names are deceptive, I can add to these a hitherto unknown detail.

By the courtesy of the Governing Body and the Treasurer of Christ Church, Oxford, I have lately had the opportunity of investigating the college account-books for data bearing on the performances of academic plays in the Elizabethan period. With the general results of these investigations I hope to deal elsewhere, but it may be of interest to the readers of the *Modern Language Review* to have the entries that apparently refer to John Lyly put before them without delay.

[1] Gascoigne's *Complete Works*, Vol. i, pp. 139, 354.

[2] *A Remembraunce of the wel imployed life, and godly end, of George Gaskoigne Esquire, who deceassed at Stalmford in Lincolne Shire the 7. of October*, 1577.—Arber's English Reprints.

[3] Gascoigne's *Complete Works*, Vol. i, p. 478.

In a list of expenses incurred in connection with the dramatic performances at Christ Church in January 1584/5, in honour of the visit of the Chancellor, the Earl of Leicester, these items appear under date, 13 January:

To Mr Lilies ma[n] for ye lone of sō̄e apparell ex co[n]sensu Decani et capituli ..... xx^{s}.

* * * * *

For gloves sent to M^{r} Lilie for his curtesie in lendinge sō̄e apparell ex cōsensu Decani et Subdecani..... vi^{s}. viii^{d}.

The presumption is that it is Lyly, the dramatist, who is mentioned in these entries, and that the Christ Church authorities had obtained from him costumes to supplement their own theatrical wardrobe. Similar borrowings or hirings of stage 'apparell' took place on other occasions when plays were performed before royal or distinguished visitors, e.g. when James I. visited Oxford in 1605 (cf. *Malone Society Collections*, I. 3, pp. 247–59). Moreover there is further evidence in the Christ Church account-book for 1584–5 of other costumes being hired from a distance for the performances before the Chancellor. Under the same date as the entries quoted above there are the following:

To Nightingale for y^{e} lone of apparell and his charges hither ex consensu Decani et Capituli..... iii^{li}. vj^{s}. viij^{d}.
To Tipslowe for y^{e} like cause wth y^{e} like cōsent ..... iij^{li}. v^{s}.
To his wyfe more for y^{e} lone of a cloke..... v^{s}.
To Tipslowe for y^{e} Revels ꝑmised by M^{r} Maxie, and allowed by M^{r} Deane and y^{e} Chapitre ..... v^{li}.

I have not been able to identify Nightingale, but Tipslowe may be John Tipsley, a tailor, whose name appears several times during this period in the accounts of the London Revels Office.

From the fact that Lyly was sent the usual complimentary academic offering of gloves, it looks as if he had no pecuniary interest in the transaction, and that the sum of 20 shillings paid to his 'man' did not benefit him. We know that Lyly was on 3 March 1583/4 the head of the Earl of Oxford's 'servauntes,' probably his company of 'boyes' (cf. Chambers, *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vol. II, no. 1, pp. 7–8 and Feuillerat, *Revels*, p. 470). Was he, in spite of Prof. Feuillerat's assertion to the contrary (*John Lyly*, pp. 131–2), still head of the company when it played before the Queen at Greenwich on 27 December, and was it in this capacity that in the following January he lent costumes to the Christ Church amateur players? And did his own College, Magdalen, which spent £3 15*s.* 5*d.* on 'ludi theatrici' during the Chancellor's visit, also profit by his good offices?

It is not to be forgotten that there was another Lyly prominent in Oxford at this time—Edmund Lillie, or Lyly, formerly a Fellow of Magdalen, who became Doctor of Divinity and Master of Balliol in 1580, and was Vice-Chancellor in 1585–6. But apart from the fact that he would have been called 'Dr' and not 'Mr,' he scarcely seems the type of person to lend out theatrical apparel.

In any case the entries offer interesting material for speculation, and are therefore worth putting on record. Perhaps one of Lyly's biographers or editors will help to elucidate the points here raised.

F. S. Boas.

London.

Marlowe: Some Textual Notes[1].

Tamburlaine.

631 With dutie not with amitie we yeeld
Our vtmost seruice to the faire *Cosroe.*

Dyce and all succeeding editors read 'and' for 'not.' Is this necessary? Techelles politely disclaims any intention of presuming to claim terms of friendship; he and his companions are bound in duty to pay their utmost service to Cosroe. This meaning seems clear if the lines are taken in their context. The tone of deference would be out of place from the mouth of Tamburlaine, but it befits Techelles well enough.

3627 while all thy ioints
Be rackt and beat asunder with the wheele,

Qy. 'bent asunder'?

3679 Now brother, follow we our fathers sword,
That flies with fury swifter than our thoughts,
And cuts down armies with his conquerings wings.

Editions later than 1590 read 'conquering wings' or 'conquering swings.' I should like to keep 'wings,' were it only that line 649 refers to Tamburlaine's 'winged sword.' But why not keep also 'conquerings,' taking it as possessive? The meaning of 'conquerings wings' is, apparently, 'wings of conquest.'

4317 And fishes feed by humaine carkasses,
Amasde, swim vp and downe vpon the waues,

Every editor from Robinson down changes 'feed' to 'fed,' but it is possible that we should recognise the word as 'fee'd.'

[1] References are to *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, edited by C. F. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, 1910.

The Rich Jew of Malta.

26 o'th poore petty wites,
Let me be enuy'd and not pittied!

For 'wites' modern-spelling editors print 'wights.' Probably it should be 'witts.'

945 That I may, walking in my Gallery,
See 'em go pinion'd along by my doore.

Read 'pinion'd' as trisyllabic, and omit 'by.' One may as legitimately say 'along my door' as 'I walk'd along a stream.' Besides the phrase actually occurs in *Arden of Feversham*, l. 128.

1783 But you know some secrets of the Iew,

Read 'I but you know.'

1924—1927 [*Ith.*] Here's to thee.
Pil. Nay, *I'le* have all or none.
Ith. There, if thou lou'st me doe not leaue a drop.
Curt. *Loue* thee, fill *me* three glasses.

But for a slight rearrangement of the verse and the use of a few italics, this is the reading of 1633. But all the editors except Reed and Collier give Pilia-borza's speech to the Curtezan. I have italicised certain words to make the sense clear. Bellamira pretends to be piqued at Ithimore's attention to her bully.

Edward the Second.

883—4 *Pen.* Heere, here. Conuey hence *Gaueston*, thaile murder him.

Most editors are agreed that the words relating to Gaveston should be assigned to Edward. I would follow the reading of 1594 in everything. It is one line, not one and a bit. The warning words are spoken aside to the king. In a later scene (1245 sqq.), Penbrooke shews a sincere affection for his sovereign, and is willing to place his life in pledge for Gaveston.

2072 Ile not resigne, but whilst I liue.

Qy. 'but whilst I liue Ile liue.' ?

2097—8 *Enter Bartley.*
Bartley. My lorde.
Edw. Call me not lorde,
Away, out of my sight:

Editors seem fairly agreed that Bartley does not enter until after 2114. They give 'My lorde' to the Bishop. But why? Bartley, on his entrance, naturally salutes the king first, though his message is to Leicester. After 2114 he presents his missive.

Dido, Queene of Carthage.

813 The heire of furie, the fauorite of the fates,

Qy. 'heire of fancie'?

1151 *Carthage*, my friendly host, adue,

Read 'adue, adue.'

1629 Traytoresse too keend and cursed Sorceresse.

May we read 'Traytoresse took in't,' i.e. caught redhanded?

The Massacre at Paris.

70—71 Where are those perfumed gloues which I sent
To be poysoned, hast thou done them? speake,

Omit 'which.' Read 'empoyson'd.'

549—551 I haue deseru'd a scourge I must confesse,
Yet is there pacience of another sort,
Then to misdoe the welfare of their King:

For 'pacience' perhaps we should read 'penance.'

997 O pardon me my Lord of *Guise*.

Read 'Pardon, O pardon me.' The lines immediately following are printed as prose. I would divide them at the following words:—'done,' 'them,' 'villaine' (though this word is probably intrusive), 'standings,' 'Lord,' 'go forth.'

J. Le Gay Brereton.

Sydney, N.S.W.

'Bozzimacu[1].'

Nearly sixty years ago the word 'Bozzamacu' was vulgarly used at Sheffield in its proper sense: that is to say, as the equivalent of 'Baisez mon cul.' I do not remember to have heard it used as a contemptuous appellation for a Frenchman.

H. Jackson.

Cambridge.

The note on the word 'Bozzimacu' in the October number of the *Review* recalls to my mind that in my native town of Essen an der Ruhr we used as schoolboys to fling the epithet 'Bäsemaküh' [bēzəmakȳ] at the Belgian Walloons who were engaged in brickmaking in the neighbourhood. We were innocent of the meaning, but it never failed to awaken their resentment.

Heinrich Mutschmann.

Nottingham.

[1] See *Modern Language Review*, Vol. v, p. 500.

'To prune.'

The verb *to prune* presents us with a problem of extraordinary difficulty, which the *New English Dictionary* does not wholly solve, though it gives a full and minute account of its uses. We are told that there appear to be two distinct verbs thus spelt. The former meant originally, 'to trim or dress the feathers with the beak,' as a bird does; the latter meant 'to cut or lop superfluous branches from a vine or tree.' It is left in uncertainty whether these were originally two distinct verbs or not. Of the former it is said that it seems to be French; of the latter, that it represents an Old French *pröoignier*, later *proignier*, which is of unknown origin.

Not finding much satisfaction in these etymologies, I addressed myself to the task of discovering something more definite, and I think I have been successful beyond what might have been expected. It will be shown that these two verbs are wholly independent of each other, and that Latin originals can be constructed in both cases.

And first as to the pruning performed by birds. The form is variable, but the best Middle English forms are *proinen* and *prunen*, used both by Chaucer and by Gower. The latter uses it of an eagle:

> 'For there he pruneth him and piketh,
> As doth an hauk whan him wel liketh.' *C. A.*, VI. 2203.

But Chaucer uses it metaphorically, with reference to Damian:

> 'He kembeth him, he proyneth him and pyketh.' *C. T.*, E. 2011.

The MSS. vary here; the readings are *preyneth*, E.; *prayneth*, Hn.; *pruneth*, Hl.; *proynyth*, Cm.; *proyneth*, Cp. Pt. Ln. The standard form is really *proinen*, as will appear.

The secret of the formation of this word is somewhat extraordinary; it rests upon the discovery, which I made in 1903, of the etymology of *proffer*, usually derived before that date from the French *proférer*, to produce, which explains neither form nor sense. I proved that it represented an Anglo-French *profrer* (used by N. Bozon), answering to an Old French *profrir*, shortened from *porofrir*, which meant precisely 'to proffer.' So that it is really a triple compound, from the Latin *prō*, *ob*, and *ferre*; and not from *prō* and *ferre* only. Dr Murray has adopted this view in the *N. E. D.*

In the same way, *proinen* is short for *poroinen*, due to the Old French stem *poroign-*, occurring in the present tense of *poroindre* (from

Lat. *prō*, prefix, and *ungere*, to anoint). Godefroy's article on *poroindre* removes all doubt, for it had the precise sense required, and is used, in all the four quotations given, of birds only. The first quotation may suffice; it is from Benoît's *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, II. 1419 (ed. Michel):

'Parmi la fontaine nooent
Puroigneient s'i e baignoent.'

I.e., (the birds) swam amid the fountain, and there they pruned themselves and bathed. This gives the complete solution, Latin original and all.

The other verb can be explained on precisely parallel lines.

In the first place, it is a Norman word, still in use in Normandy in the form *progner*. Moisy's Glossary of modern Norman duly gives it, and he makes concerning it a somewhat odd remark, viz. that it has just the same sense as *rogner*, though it exhibits a prefixed *p*. Practically he is quite right, if we only happen to know what this prefixed *p* means. As to *rogner*, Hamilton explains it by 'to cut, to clip, to pare, to prune'; giving at once the right sense.

From what precedes, it will easily be seen that, if *progner* is to have much the same sense as *rogner*, it must be related to the latter in much the same way as *proffer* is related to *offer*, and *poroindre* to *oindre*; so that the prefix required is *por-*, as before. We have only to assume an Old French form **por-roigner*, which was easily reduced (like the two previous words) to *p'roigner*, whence the M.E. *proinen*. The word is then completely solved, because the origin of *rogner*, formerly *roignier*, *röoignier*, has been shown to be the Late Lat. *rotundiāre*, to clip round, to round, from the Lat. adj. *rotundus*. This shows that Dr Murray was perfectly right in assigning the O.F. *pröoignier* as the origin of the English word. All that remained was to explain *pröoignier* itself. It is merely a contraction from **porröoignier*, and that is all.

Walter W. Skeat.

Cambridge.

'Vie de St Alexis,' Strophe cxi, 2.

Pour cette strophe A nous manque. L S M nous donnent une énumération des malades qui viennent se faire guérir par le pouvoir miraculeux de Saint Alexis. Cette énumération est distincte dans chacun des manuscrits:

L. Surz ne auogles ne contraiz ne leprus
Ne muz ne orbs ne neuls palazinus
ensur tut ne nuls languerus.

S. Surs nauules ne contraiz ne lepreus
Ne crestiens qui tant soit languereus
Ensor que tout nus hom palasinex.

M. Ne nus liepreus ne malades ne sours
Ne nus enfers ne nus palasinous
Ni est ales ken portast ses langours.

Gaston Paris a établi comme il suit son texte pour ces trois vers (cf. grande édition p. 166):

Sorz ne avogles ne contraiz ne lepros
Ne muz ne orbs ne nuls palazinos,
Ensorquetot ne neuls langoros.

c. à d. qu'il a conservé la leçon de L en corrigeant *neuls* en *nuls* et en ajoutant *que* à *en sur*.

Mais quelle différence y a-t-il entre *avogles* au vers 1 et *orbs* au vers 2? Dira-t-on que l'un a un sens plus large et l'autre plus étroit? Ce serait bien vague. Dira-t-on que l'un signifie *aveugles de naissance* et l'autre *aveugles par accident*? Cela ne correspondrait pas au sens ressortant des exemples que nous avons de ces deux mots, constamment pris l'un pour l'autre[1]. Proposera-t-on d'adopter la leçon d'un autre manuscrit? Ce serait bien difficile. Car d'une part les vers 1 et 3, assurés par deux manuscrits de familles différentes, doivent rester; d'autre part l'on ne peut faire cas du second vers de S qui est évidemment refait. Enfin *enfers* de M est exclu par le premier vers de CXII absolument certain:

N'i vint enferms de nule enfermetet.

Alors se résignera-t-on à croire que l'auteur de St Alexis ait oublié qu'il avait déjà parlé des aveugles, dans le vers 1 et qu'il les mentionne de nouveau au vers 2? Ce serait accorder à sa mémoire et à son talent un bien infime crédit.

Or si l'on se reporte à d'autres récits de miracles on voit que les saints guérissent généralement 'les muz, les sorz, les orbs et les tors.' Il est fort probable qu'il faut remplacer au vers 2 *orbs* par *tors*. Au point de vue paléographique la faute s'explique aisément: l'original

[1] Si telle avait été l'intention de l'auteur, il n'aurait pas séparé les 'avogles' des 'orbs.' Il aurait mis plus d'ordre dans sa cour des miracles et aurait écrit par exemple:

Orbs ne avogles ne contraiz ne lepros
Ne muz ne sorz ne nuls palazinos.

devait porter *ne tors*; un scribe *a* aura écrit *netors* et un scribe *b* aura mal coupé ces mots et mis *net ors*. Le scribe de L aura réduit en ce cas, suivant son habitude, *net* à *ne*[1] et ajouté à *ors* son *b* etymologique[2].

Louis Brandin.

London.

'Aucassin et Nicolete,' xxi, 5–8.

Li uns dist bel conpaignet
dix ait Aucasinet
voire a foi le bel vallet
et le mescine au cors corset.

Ce passage offre deux difficultés. 1. De ces vers le dernier est évidemment faux et commentateurs et éditeurs ont essayé de le corriger. Tous sont d'accord pour supprimer *cors*, mais les uns ont remplacé *corset* par *cors net* et les autres, comme M. Suchier, et à la suite M. Bourdillon, ont conservé *corset* en lui donnant le sens de 'partie du bliaut des femmes' synonyme de *bliaut* employé dans xii, 12[3]. 2. Le sens de 'voire a foi' (v. 7) est bien plat, si on l'interprète, comme on l'a fait jusqu'ici, par 'oui, vraiment.' 'Que Dieu aide le petit Aucassin, oui vraiment!' Quel sens cela offre-t-il? Notre poète nous a habitués à mieux que cela. Il nous donne le droit d'exiger plus de lui qu'une cheville aussi banale: elle n'a cependant pas attiré l'attention des érudits qui s'était probablement portée, si j'ose ainsi dire, tout entière sur le *corset* de la mescine. N'y a-t-il pas moyen d'enlever cette tache de notre laisse et de résoudre la première difficulté de façon plus satisfaisante? C'est à cette question que les lignes suivantes doivent répondre.

Il est évident que, à la laisse qui nous occupe, le poète a eu l'intention bien arrêtée de donner, en accumulant les diminutifs, un tour vif et gracieux; il y a d'ailleurs réussi; non sans qu'on puisse cependant lui reprocher de n'avoir pas entièrement évité quelque mignardise. Il faut remarquer notamment que tous les mots terminant le vers sont des diminutifs en *-et* ou *-és*[4], où la force diminutive est nettement marquée:

[1] Il a oublié de faire cette réduction au vers liii, 5: 'ne sen corucet net il nes en apelet.'

[2] Dans sa petite édition de *La Vie de Saint Alexis* (Champion, 1903, 1905) Gaston Paris a rétabli l'orthographe *ors*, la plus conforme aux règles de l'ancien français.

[3] Cf. la traduction de Bourdillon, 'And the girl in bodice clad' avec la note ajoutée à propos de ce vers, p. 146 (2e éd., 1897), et la note de Suchier, *Aucassin et Nicolete* (6e éd., traduite en français par A. Counson, pp. 55–57).

[4] Vallet de **cassulittum* implique souvent encore à cette époque une idée diminutive. Il correspond à *jeune homme*, les idées de jeune et petit se confondant fort naturellement. Les diminutifs y sont tous formés par le suffixe *-et* (du latin *-ĭttum*) au singulier ou au pluriel.

seul le mot *corset* ferait exception parce que, tout en étant dérivé de *cors* auquel s'est ajouté le suffix *-et*, il n'offrirait plus, dans le sens où M. Suchier et M. Bourdillon le prennent, la moindre idée de diminutif. *A fortiori* il y aurait exception si l'on recourait à la correction proposée par Bartsch et adoptée notamment par Gaston Paris et Tobler, *cors net* au lieu de *corset*. Or rien ne nous autorise à admettre l'explication de M. Suchier ou la correction de Bartsch, qui ont pour résultat de rompre toute l'harmonie de la laisse, de détruire l'effet que le poète voulait produire. On s'en convaincra en examinant de près les vers 7 et 8. La copulative qui est au commencement du vers 8 est tout simplement la répétition du *et* de *vallet*[1]. Il suffit de la supprimer pour retrouver la bonne leçon.

Au lieu donc de lire comme les éditions précédentes :

Li uns dist : Bel conpaignet,
Dix aït Aucasinet,
Voire, a foi ! le bel vallet
Et le mescine au corset[2] etc.

l'on propose d'établir le texte comme il suit :

Li uns dist : Bel conpaignet,
Dix aït Aucasinet !
Voire, a foi le bel vallet
Le[3] mescine au cort[4] corset etc.

Ce qui veut dire : Que Dieu aide le petit Aucassin ! A coup sûr, elle a la foi du beau jeune homme, la jeune fille a la fine taille, mot à mot 'au court petit corps[5].'

Ainsi l'on conserve *corset* mais en y voyant un *diminutif réel* de *cors*. On évite aussi, surtout en conservant l'adjectif *cort*, les objections de Gaston Paris[6] et de Tobler[7] auxquelles la note, d'ailleurs extrêmement intéressante, de M. Suchier n'enlève aucune force. On a, en outre, l'avantage de voir rappelé ici un des traits sur lesquels le poète insiste quand il nous décrit la beauté de Nicolete : 'et estoit graille par mi les flans qu'en vos dex mains la peüscies enclorre.' Nous avions déjà *poil blondet, cler le vis et l'oeul vairet* qui correspondaient à *caviaux blons, ex*

[1] Le scribe l'a écrit une fois probablement par inadvertence plutôt que par inintelligence du texte. Cela serait rendu encore plus probable si les vers de l'original étaient mis à la queue leu leu, comme de la prose, ou si, comme il arrive souvent, deux vers étaient écrits sur la même ligne. Mais, en tout cas, on comprend parfaitement, étant donnés tous ces *-et*, que le scribe en ait ajouté un de plus. À un près et quand on prend du galon on n'en saurait trop prendre !

[2] Ou : au cors net. [3] MS. Et le. [4] MS. cors.

[5] Godefroy dans son *Dictionnaire* (II, 316) donne ce sens pour *corset*. Signalons le fait à son éloge. On n'a que trop souvent occasion de mettre en relief ses bévues !

[6] *Romania*, VIII, 288. [7] *Zeitschrift für Rom. Philologie*, II, 624.

vairs et rians de xii. Les deux descriptions concordent ainsi beaucoup mieux et l'impression générale est bien plus satisfaisante. Enfin au point de vue paléographique on conçoit aisément la correction de *cors corset* en *cort corset*. Le scribe, qui d'ailleurs n'a pas pour la déclinaison un respect excessif, s'est laissé entraîner à écrire *cors* au lieu de *cort* sous l'influence de la première syllabe du mot suivant[1].

Si maintenant nous revenons au vers 7, nous voyons qu'il offre un sens beaucoup plus net. D'abord le mot *voire* y a toute sa force : 'Vraiment, il n'y a pas de doute.' Ensuite *a foi* dans le sens de 'a la foi' est beaucoup plus naturel que dans le sens de 'assurément' pour lequel notre auteur emploie d'ailleurs *par* foi (cf. xviii, 37). S'il avait voulu dire 'Aye, i' faith[2]' il aurait mis : 'Voir, par foi !'

Enfin la construction 'avoir foi le bel vallet' est peut-être un peu dure, mais elle est néanmoins très claire. Ce n'est qu'un cas particulier d'un tour courant en ancien français[3].

Et c'est ainsi qu'il semble y avoir forte raison pour enlever à Nicolete le corset dont on l'avait affublée[4].

Louis Brandin.

London.

[1] On pourrait objecter que *corset* n'a jamais ce sens en ancien français. A vrai dire on n'en a point rencontré, que je sache, d'autre exemple. Mais, outre qu'il peut s'en trouver, il est évident que, si ce mot est du crû de l'auteur, si c'est une de ses créations, il n'en a que plus de saveur, il n'en fait que plus vivement ressortir son intention. C'est d'ailleurs le même procédé qui l'a conduit à imaginer *Aucasinet*, *conpaignet*, *denerés*, qui n'existent non plus nulle part ailleurs.

[2] Comme dit Bourdillon, *Auc. and Nic.*, p. 75.

[3] Gaston Paris a ainsi formulé la règle : 'L'accusatif d'un nom de personne au singulier et rarement au pluriel, peut, sans être précédé d'aucune préposition, faire fonction de génitif' (Gaston Paris, *Chrestomathie du moyen âge, Syntaxe*, lv–lvi. Voir ses exemples et y ajouter ceux donnés par Tobler dans ses *Vermischte Beiträge zur Französischen Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1886). Je dis que nous avons affaire ici à un cas spécial de cette règle ; en effet, dans les exemples cités par les deux philologues que nous venons de nommer, le premier substantif est toujours précédé de l'article défini, sauf quand il suit une préposition : En nom Dieu, par ex. Dans notre vers il n'y a pas d'article défini et *le bel vallet* dépend immédiatement de *avoir foi*. Cela ne laisse pas que de donner une tournure un peu forcée ; mais elle reste néanmoins fort claire et est en tout cas de beaucoup préférable à la cheville : Voire, a foi ! le bel vallet !

[4] Dans le cas même où l'on conserverait pour ces vers la leçon contre laquelle nous nous sommes élevé :

Dix aït Aucasinet
voire, a foi ! le bel vallet
et le mescine au corset,

il faudrait, croyons-nous, traduire le dernier par : et la jeune fille à la fine taille, *corset* étant pris dans le sens de 'petit corps.'

REVIEWS.

John Lyly: Contribution à l'Histoire de la Renaissance en Angleterre. Par Albert Feuillerat. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. Royal 8vo. xii + 661 pp.

The interest in John Lyly shows no sign of abatement. Mr Bond's edition of his works in three large and well-packed volumes, issued in 1902, is now followed up by a monograph by M. Feuillerat almost colossal in its proportions. Some of us have been long and eagerly looking forward to the appearance of this book. We are more than satisfied. The work has been done so carefully and exhaustively that it will be many a day before anyone comes forward again with an attempt to cover the whole field. As far as the present generation is concerned the book is final.

This does not mean that M. Feuillerat has rendered any further study of Lyly superfluous. He himself would be the first to laugh at such a proposition. On the contrary, the valuable discoveries he has made will but act as a stimulus to research in this or that section of the subject. Nor does it mean that all the theories he advances—some of them most revolutionary in character—will find general acceptance among scholars. The book is final chiefly in the sense that it 'places' Lyly far more successfully than any previous investigation, and gives him a position and background which are never likely to be materially altered. Where others have speculated, M. Feuillerat produces documents. He lets us into the secret of Lyly's birth and social standing. He places us on terms of familiarity with various members of his family. And when his hero leaves Canterbury and Oxford for the larger world of London, the life of the court is placed before us in a series of vivid pictures which wonderfully illuminate that brilliant and artificial phase of the English Renaissance when its activity was still largely confined to an Italianized coterie surrounding the Queen. For M. Feuillerat fulfils the promise made in his sub-title in a generous and large-hearted spirit. Finally, from the book as a whole we receive a very clear and convincing impression of what Lyly stands for in the history of English literature. Let it be here said that this impression is in a sense reactionary, that is to say, it is a corrective of the recent attempts—peccavi!—to place Lyly on one of the chief pedestals in the Elizabethan temple of fame. He is not, M. Feuillerat would have us believe, nearly

so big a man as we had supposed. We had long ago given up thinking of him as the inventor of euphuism or as a writer of lyrics. But Harvey was right all along the line. In drama also, it now appears, 'young Euphues but hatched the eggs his elder friends laid.' Nor does M. Feuillerat much believe in his reputed learning. The fame of one who was once 'alter Tullius Anglorum' is on the decline. We expect to be told next that Gascoigne was a more interesting and original writer.

M. Feuillerat divides his book into two parts, one historical and the other analytical. In the first the facts of Lyly's life are given us, and these, together with the work he produced, are considered in relation to the age which conditioned them. I cannot help agreeing with the author in finding this far the more attractive part. It also contains most of the original matter of the book, the strictly biographical sections being quite new. The second half is taken up with a critical consideration of the novels, the plays and the euphuistic style. Their sources are discussed, their species determined and their construction analysed. The results of the two parts are then brought together in a concluding chapter in which an attempt is made to fix Lyly's place in English literature, and to account on historical grounds for the sudden decline in his popularity. The method has distinct advantages, but no method is perfect; and M. Feuillerat is occasionally hampered by the necessity of treating closely allied topics in different parts of the book.

The last hundred and sixty pages of the volume are occupied with appendices, including an index and fifty pages of bibliography. The most important of these is the first, in which, under the title of 'Pièces justicatives,' are printed the documents upon which the preceding biography of Lyly is based. A large number of these have never seen light before, by far the most striking and important being a genealogy of the Lyly family which M. Feuillerat has discovered among the Harleian MSS. Drawn up early in the seventeenth century, and apparently of unimpeachable authenticity, it is an interesting document from many points of view; but chiefly for the proof which it affords that the author of *Euphues and his Ephoebus* was the grandson of William Lyly, the grammarian. The second appendix is concerned with the chronology of Lyly's works. There are few tasks of criticism more useful than a precise determination of dates. M. Feuillerat does not indeed depart very materially from the order and dating which Mr Bond gave us, but he has in nearly every case substituted certainty, or at least weighty probability, for conjecture, an actual day and month for a vague supposition in terms of years. He has been enabled to do this largely owing to the advance made in our knowledge of court performances since Mr Bond wrote, an advance due to Mr Chambers's discoveries among the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber and M. Feuillerat's own researches among the Revels office account books. The third and last appendix deals with Lyly's debt to Ovid; it being proved, among other things, that the *Cooling Carde for all fond Lovers* is an adaptation—*mirabile dictu*—of the *Remedium Amoris.*

The foregoing account of the method and variety of the book gives but a faint idea of the thoroughness with which the task has been carried out. Writing, as he is careful to state, for the student only, M. Feuillerat spares his readers no elaboration of detail in his pursuit of finality. Fifty pages, for example, are devoted to a consideration of the allegory of *Endimion*, while a catalogue has been made, with full references, of all the classical names appearing in Lyly's writings. On the other hand, if he considers that an issue has been settled by others M. Feuillerat does not re-discuss it. Thus, he contents himself by giving in a footnote a brief *résumé* of Mr W. W. Greg's arguments on the subject of the songs found in Lyly's plays[1], while all we have in reference to Lyly's blank-verse is a quotation from Mr Bond. Yet scientific as is M. Feuillerat's aim, he does not belong to that school which would divorce scholarship from literature. The book is written in an easy and delightful style, not infrequently enlivened by flashes of humour, which go a long way towards accommodating the reader to the weight of learning he is required to carry. Thus, despite its size, it has nothing of that heaviness which makes many valuable German treatises so indigestible.

In turning to matters of detail, it may be remarked that it is of course impossible to deal with more than a handful of the numberless points of interest contained in a volume of this elaboration and scope. I shall therefore confine my attention to those which seem to me most likely to excite criticism and discussion among Elizabethan students.

The question of the source, or sources, which Lyly drew upon for his 'compilation,' *The Anatomy of Wit*, is at once one of the most interesting and puzzling of the problems connected with his name. Landmann's old theory that the book was in substance (to say nothing of style) a mere rearrangement of North's *Diall of Princes* is by this time so dead that M. Feuillerat does not even deign to stop and sheathe his dagger in the corpse[2]. But new theories have sprung up to take its place. The present writer, in *The Library* of October 1909, ventured to assert that the novel owed a considerable debt to the school of Latin-Dutch dramatists who dealt with the prodigal son theme. Mr S. L. Wolf in *Modern Philology*, April 1910, attributes with some plausibility the episode of Euphues falling in love with his friend's mistress, together with his soliloquy on the situation thus created, to Boccaccio's story of Tito and Giseppo, to which, indeed, Lyly refers. Finally, M. Feuillerat, after carefully indicating the various sources for the didactic appendices, brings forward a well-authenticated incident in the life of the author which he claims as the basis of the plot, and a theory that the novel was planned and written as an attack upon the Italianate gentleman.

[1] M. Feuillerat is perhaps a little too unobtrusive in this matter. I notice for example that *The Times*' critique of his book reproduces the old belief in Lyly's authorship of the songs, in happy ignorance of M. Feuillerat's footnote.

[2] It still, however, continues to hold its ground in standard critical works: see for example M. W. MacCallum's *Shakespeare's Roman Plays*, p. 149.

The incident in Lyly's life, to which M. Feuillerat draws our attention for the first time, is certainly curious and interesting. Simon Forman, who entered Magdalen in the year when Lyly was taking his degree, refers in his *Autobiographie* to two mad-cap seniors who were courting the two fair daughters of one Doctor Lawrence of Cowley, and used the unfortunate freshman as a go-between. 'Sir Thornbery he woed Besse and Sir Pinckney he woed Martha and in the end he married her: but Thornbery he deceyued Besse, as the mayor's daughter of Bracly, of which Ephues writes, deceyued him.' There can be little doubt that we have in these words a reference by a contemporary, a fellow-student and perhaps an acquaintance of Lyly's, to an actual love story which was recognised at the time as forming the basis of *The Anatomy of Wit*. Ferardo, we may legitimately suppose, represents the Mayor of Brackley, a town lying not far from Oxford; Lucilla is of course his daughter; while Euphues, as indeed is hinted in the preface to *Euphues and his England*, is none other than Lyly himself. At the same time it should be recognised that Forman's words do not carry us very far. If 'him' refers to Thornbery as M. Feuillerat assumes, then we may agree that Thornbery is the original of Philautus. But are we justified in making this assumption? There is no reason why 'him' should not be intended to refer to Euphues. In that case, not only would the identification of Philautus fall to the ground, but the passage would not necessarily imply a rivalry between the friends, or even for that matter, the existence of any rival whatsoever. All it tells us for certain is that the Mayor's daughter of Brackley jilted Euphues.

It is one of the drawbacks involved in M. Feuillerat's method that the foregoing problem is not brought into any relation with his treatment of the purpose of *The Anatomy*. For surely had he asked himself whether Euphues could be intended as a portrait of the author, and at the same time as an example of the evil consequence of travelling in Italy, he would have hesitated before committing himself to the theory we have now to consider. M. Feuillerat holds that *The Anatomy of Wit* was nothing but a 'Tendenzschrift,' one of the numerous attacks upon Italianism which the age produced—a thesis, be it said at the outset, which seems to me not merely opposed to everything we know of Lyly's own career and character, but entirely unsupported by anything in the book itself. At first sight it would seem plausible enough that the grandson of William Lyly should inherit a double portion of his spirit and deck himself in the mantle of the prophet Ascham. Nor can anybody deny that *Euphues* owes something to *The Schoolmaster* or that it is steeped in humanistic sentiment. But it is too much to ask us to suppose that Lyly the 'fiddlestick' of Oxford and the 'minion secretarie' of that Italianate monster, Edward de Vere, could ever have seriously contemplated writing against Italianism. M. Feuillerat sees the difficulty, and tries to surmount it by some hazardous and rather inconsistent speculations upon Lyly's character. He wavers, indeed, between two explanations, one that Lyly was never sincere, but wrote *The Anatomy* to please the grave eye of Burghley (pp. 44, 70), and the

other that after leaving Oxford he went through a serious phase, which had, however, quite passed off a year or two later; for we are asked to believe that between the first and second part of *Euphues* 'une transformation profonde dans l'esprit de Lyly' had taken place (p. 89). How much basis there is for all this theorising may be judged when we remember that, as far as we can tell, Lyly went straight from Oxford to the Savoy where he would at once come across de Vere. It is even possible that he had entered his service before publishing *The Anatomy*[1].

But it is not necessary to test the theory by any preconceived ideas of Lyly's character. It falls to pieces of itself when compared with the actual text of *The Anatomy of Wit*. If Lyly intended it to be read as an attack upon Italianism, why is it he never states his purpose explicitly or indeed makes the slightest covert reference to the topic throughout the whole of the book? Elizabethan authors are not usually reticent concerning the axe they are offering to grind: they generally announce it with trumpets on the title-page. The only time, as far as I know, that Lyly mentions the reputation of Italians in England, is in *Euphues and his England*[2], a book which M. Feuillerat himself admits was written after Lyly had fallen from grace. Had the subject been in Lyly's mind when he wrote *The Anatomy*, the scene of which is laid in Naples, there are a score of places in the novel where he might have pointed the moral. But he does not: and the impression left upon the reader who comes to the book with M. Feuillerat's theory in his mind is that, considering Lyly's age and antecedents, it is almost a marvel that he has *not* introduced the topic of Italianism.

M. Feuillerat, it is clear, has been led astray by the word 'Naples.' Illogically enough he reads Oxford for Athens; sees in Euphues, the Athenian scholar, the portrait of a young English gentleman, but refuses to find any English equivalent for Naples. And yet it is perfectly obvious that Lyly's readers understood Naples as London, or more particularly the court, and that Lyly fully intended them to do so. Throughout the book the contrast so frequently drawn between Athens and Naples is unmistakeably a contrast between the university and the court; just as Euphues, the representative of the one, is a scholar, and Philautus, the representative of the other, is a courtier. In a word, Athens is Oxford, and Naples is London, Euphues being the young Lyly who has recently come from the one to the other. Were it otherwise, what is the point of the letter of Euphues 'To the grave matrones and honest maydens of Italy' in which he assures them that the case of Lucilla is quite exceptional? The letter, which may be compared with the famous epistle 'To my very good friends the gentlemen scholers of Oxford,' is awkward for M. Feuillerat, however one interprets it. Again, if Naples be really Naples, why does Lyly make Eubulus, in whom M. Feuillerat sees a representative of English humanism, a Neapolitan?

[1] M. Feuillerat (p. 44) himself speaks of *The Anatomy* as 'le livre que...Lyly élaborait dans les murs du Savoy.'

[2] Bond, vol. II, p. 88.

And why is it Philautus, another Neapolitan, who has the frank and open heart, while it is Euphues, the Englishman *ex hypothesi*, who displays the characteristics of treachery and deceit? Not that Euphues is ever 'Italianized' in the sense that Lyly's contemporaries would have given that word. He shows no trace of atheism, and the references to his self-indulgence are few, and when they occur seem out of place; while his love for Lucilla is perfectly respectable if somewhat dishonourable. Finally, the picture of Naples given to Euphues by Eubulus, with its reference to drunkenness, gluttony, and gross indulgences of other kinds, reminds one much more of Stubbes' attacks on 'Ailgna' and Nashe's tears over the modern Jerusalem than of anything written at the period upon Italy. What the Elizabethans complained of in Italians was not *grossièreté* so much as the vices of luxury and refinement, and more especially lack of principle, subtlety, atheism—in a word, Machiavellism. Indeed, the theory as a whole seems to me so completely devoid of any support from internal evidence, and so entirely opposed to the whole weight of external evidence that I find it difficult to understand how M. Feuillerat can have subscribed to it.

We come now to the Marprelate controversy, a subject on which there is still very much work to be done, especially on the anti-Martinist side of the dispute. It is, therefore, a little disappointing to find that only fourteen pages of the book before us are devoted to it. But M. Feuillerat's field is so immense, and on the whole so well-tilled, that we cannot complain if a small corner seems to have been comparatively neglected. Unfortunately M. Feuillerat's chapter appears to me at times seriously incorrect, chiefly, I think, because he does not seem to have made any study of the business on its puritan side. The most misleading feature is the implication, running throughout and finally crystallizing into a definite assertion, that Martin was reduced to silence solely by Lyly and his fellow-pamphleteers. That was no doubt the way it was often put in Lyly's day by Nashe and others, but to anyone who has studied the fortunes of the fugitive puritan press, it is an absurd proposition. Martin Marprelate was silenced by the capture of his printing-press at Manchester, and by the disclosures and arrests which followed—in a word by force. So far indeed from being discouraged by controversial opponents, he welcomed them, as the modern socialist welcomes the existence of the Anti-socialist League, as an advertisement. It is perhaps a sufficient refutation of the old error that M. Feuillerat has once again reproduced, to point out that one of the longest and, as far as we can tell from the account given of it in *The Protestation*, the merriest of all Martin's tracts was penned as a direct reply to the writers and dramatists of London who had attacked him. I refer to *More Worke for the Cooper*, the manuscript of which was captured with the press. Among these writers it should be noted Lyly's name does not appear, for *Pappe with a Hatchet*, the pamphlet to which M. Feuillerat would ascribe the honour of striking Martin dumb, did not see light until after Martin had already been put to silence, that is until the end of October 1589,

two months after the capture of the press, and even later than Martin's last flutter in *The Protestation*. On p. 216 M. Feuillerat even seems to imply that the still later pamphlets *The Return of Pasquill* and *An Almond for a Parrat* shared in the glory of extinguishing Martin; for after enumerating them with *Pappe* and the other tracts, he continues 'Marprelate traqué de toutes partes et sérieusement atteint par ces coups multiples réussit à peine à faire entendre une dernière *Protestation*, vite étouffée sous les plaisanteries et sous les quolibets.' No one properly acquainted with the facts of Martin's career or the chronology of the tracts could have penned such a sentence.

M. Feuillerat makes a valiant effort to find something more than mud and sawdust in the compound that Lyly labelled *Pappe with a Hatchet*, but I cannot feel that he has been very successful. He fixes upon the accusation of treason that Lyly hurls at Marprelate, as the point of saving grace, though he admits that there was nothing original in it. Pasquil gives quite as much space to the same line of argument, and it is obviously one that the episcopal patrons would do their best to emphasize. There was quite possibly a plot for a further secularisation of Church property on foot at the back of the Marprelate business, but there was certainly not a shade of disloyalty to the crown. Penry and Martin were perfectly capable of dealing with the accusation, and it is doubtful whether it imposed upon those who did not already wish to believe it.

Among minor points may be noticed the implication on p. 212, perhaps not intentional, that the Marprelate tracts were issued with the approval of the whole Puritan party, whereas it is notorious that Cartwright and the 'preachers' seriously disapproved of the movement.

There is little doubt that the section of the book which will excite most interest and discussion among Elizabethan students is that which deals with Lyly as a playwright. After his careful and minute study of the Revels Documents, M. Feuillerat finds himself looking at the early history of the Elizabethan drama from quite a new standpoint. And his conclusions are likely to be startling enough to those accustomed to the old way of regarding things. In a few brief and confident sentences he dismisses the time-honoured belief in Lyly as the founder of English comedy and leaves him as one, and not necessarily the best, of a school of court dramatists, which under the scrutiny and careful selection of the Master of the Revels and in the 'atmosphère favorable et tiède' of a refined court, had since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign attained 'un développement merveilleux.' Some hundred and fifty dramas, declares M. Feuillerat, must already have been acted before Elizabeth when Lyly began to write, and his present reputation as a dramatist is simply due to the fact that his plays have survived while those of his predecessors have perished. All we have left of these are a couple of tragedies, a tragi-comedy and a number of entries in the Revels account-books. The last, however, give us a list of suggestive titles which indicate that the classical and mythological drama which Lyly has made famous had long flourished at Elizabeth's court. Hitherto

we have been comparing Lyly's plays with crude beginnings of comedy upon the academic stage such as *Roister Doister* and *Gammer Gurton's Needle*. This, which of course places Lyly in a very favourable light, M. Feuillerat would have us believe to be quite unscientific. Lyly's true forerunners are not Udall and Stevenson, but the host of unknown writers for the court theatre who worked out the dramatic type and laid down the traditions of comedy which Lyly took over from them. 'Dans le roman, Lyly avait à peu près tout à créer; dans le théâtre, il bénéficiait de l'exemple de ses prédécesseurs et des modèles qu'ils lui avaient légués, après un quart de siècle d'efforts continus.' Such is M. Feuillerat's thesis. He has an unrivalled knowledge of the Revels office at his back, and it is difficult to see how his position can be attacked.

It is characteristic of his method that while some four pages are devoted to a consideration of the foregoing problem, more than twelve times the space is given to the far less important, though more complicated, matter of the allegory in *Endimion*. The onslaught which he makes upon the theory, so long unquestioned, of Leicester's identity with Endimion is, I think, entirely successful. He points out, among other things, that it is really absurd to suppose that Lyly would have dared to handle so delicate and dangerous a matter as the relations between Elizabeth and her favourite; that, while in the play Tellus casts the spell upon Endimion, in real life it was Elizabeth (Cinthia) who in a jealous fit put Leicester under confinement; that the description given of the young, pale and hollow-eyed shepherd-lad was hardly appropriate to the ruddy-complexioned earl of fifty; and finally—and to my mind most telling argument of all—that Lyly as a satellite of the anti-Leicester clique which included Burghley and de Vere, would presumably be the last person in the world to plead Leicester's cause, as Messrs Halpin, Baker and Bond have imagined him doing.

But it is doubtful whether M. Feuillerat will gain a very large following for his own interpretation of the allegory. The play symbolises, he would have us believe, the negotiations for a league between Elizabeth and James of Scotland which, after some vicissitudes, were coming to a head at the end of 1585. Cinthia is, of course, Elizabeth, Endimion is the young Scottish monarch and Tellus is the captive Queen at Tutbury castle whom he was virtually abandoning and who naturally did all in her power to frustrate her son's intentions. In Endimion's twenty to forty years' sleep upon the lunary bank we are asked to see the temporary rupture between James and Elizabeth (Aug.—Nov. 1585) due to the intrigues of Mary and Arran, while the kiss of Cinthia represents the renewal of negotiations at the beginning of December (see Froude, *History*, ed. 1901, vol. XI, pp. 584–597). These dates are important because they throw some suspicion upon the theory even at the outset. M. Feuillerat agrees with Mr Bond that the play was produced on February 2nd, 1585/6. But at that time barely eight weeks had elapsed since Knowles wrote to Walsingham from Edinburgh to announce that James was once more anxious to proceed with the

treaty[1]. Does this allow sufficient time for the topic to become once again the talk of the Court, and for Lyly to write his play, obtain the sanction of the Master of the Revels and see it properly rehearsed? I do not deny the possibility, but I suggest that the point is worth serious consideration.

There are, however, other and graver objections to the theory. I have tried to do all justice to M. Feuillerat in this matter; but after refreshing my memory on the course of politics in 1584–6, and after a careful re-reading of *Endimion*, I confess to remaining totally unconvinced of the truth of his interpretation. There are, it is true, points in the play which seem to support the theory. Cinthia, for example, speaks of Endimion as 'the hope of succeeding time' which certainly suggests James, the heir to the English throne; but M. Feuillerat does not appear to notice that in the same sentence she also calls him 'the flower of my court,' words which are scarcely applicable to a foreign monarch. Again, the talk of a match between James and Elizabeth is a satisfactory explanation of the adoration of Endimion for Cinthia, and yet it should be remembered that Elizabeth had many Endimions of this kidney to whom the application would be equally suitable. Finally, James in 1584–6 was hesitating whether to throw in his lot with his mother or with Elizabeth, just as Endimion is represented as hesitating between Tellus and Cinthia, eventually deciding, as James did, in favour of the virgin Queen. But here we stumble upon the most serious objection of all. Do the words of the play—in this case our sole authority—provide any grounds whatever for the supposition that Tellus was the mother of Endimion? They do not. On the contrary, Tellus is represented throughout as the mistress of the hero.

M. Feuillerat is conscious of the difficulty and tries to overcome it by two highly ingenious, but I think quite inconclusive, arguments. In the first place he points out that there is something puzzling in the relations between Endimion and Tellus. She never upbraids her supposed lover to his face for his infidelity, indeed she seems to accept the fact of his love for Cinthia with equanimity and resignation. In this he finds an indication that the love of Tellus was different in kind from the love which Endimion bore towards Cinthia, that it was in fact maternal and not sexual. I shall have something more to say about this in a minute, but meanwhile is there not another and much simpler explanation of the complacency of Tellus? 'Madam,' says Floscula at the beginning of the play, 'if you would compare the state of Cinthia with your own, and the height of Endimion's thoughts with the meanness of your fortune you would rather yield than contend, there being between you and her no comparison.' And to this judgment Tellus herself finally subscribes in the words of her last speech: 'Knowing your

[1] James himself did not write proposing to renew the negotiations until December 20th, while Elizabeth's reply announcing that she is sending an ambassador for the purpose of concluding the league, belongs to the beginning of 1586. (*Letters of Elizabeth and James*, Camden Soc., pp. 24–26.)

virtues, Cinthia, to be immortal, I could not have an imagination to withdraw him.' In a word, Tellus from the first felt it hopeless to try and persuade Endimion to give up Cinthia, she was obliged in despair to fall back upon magic, and when that failed she submitted to the inevitable with as good a grace as she could. Surely there is nothing in the least mysterious or puzzling in all this. It is an obvious tribute to the overwhelming power of Elizabeth's beauty and one which the dramatist could hardly, have omitted with impunity.

M. Feuillerat's second argument is based on the physical allegory of the play—the opposition between Tellus, the earth, and Cinthia, the moon. Tellus is a figure which Lyly himself introduces into the old myth and he is constantly referring to her attributes. These are obviously intended to represent some marked characteristic in the person symbolized. This characteristic M. Feuillerat finds in the relation in which Mary of Scots stood to James: in a word Tellus, mother Earth, represents maternity. Now had this been Lyly's intention, surely he would have made some explicit statement of the fact? 'Toute incertitude, toute obscurité sont fatales aux intentions de l'auteur' as M. Feuillerat rightly remarks of the allegorical drama. And yet the only passage in the whole that he can quote in support of the identification is the remark of Tellus to Floscula, 'Infinite are my creatures without which neither thou nor Endimion, nor any, could love or live[1]' (I. ii, 25). But so far from implying that Endimion is her 'creature,' these words implicitly distinguish him, Floscula and other human beings from the herbs and animals, 'her creatures,' without which none could live. I very much doubt whether the idea of Nature as the mother of man was at all familiar to sixteenth century minds.

'Endimion,' writes M. Feuillerat, 'se trouve tiraillé entre deux amours que ne sont pas de même nature. L'un, celui qu'il éprouve pour Cinthia, est fait d'adorations muettes, de soupirs et de désespérances; il touche presque à l'amitié et c'est en amitié qu'il se résoud: c'est l'amour des sonnettistes, le seul admis à la Cour, le seul amour vrai selon le code de la société polie. L'autre, l'amour que Tellus éprouve pour Endimion, est l'amour naturel ou maternel: il est violent, physique; c'est une "brûlure continuelle dans les entrailles presque un éclatement de chaque veine."' Remove the words 'ou maternel' and the foregoing quotation exactly expresses the character of these two loves. For the contrast that Lyly draws is not between Chastity and Maternity—surely a perfectly pointless antithesis—but between Chastity and Lust, between spiritual and physical love, one of the commonest and most obvious of themes in an age nourished upon Dante and Petrarch, or for that matter in any age. Nor would those present at the play hesitate for a moment to identify Tellus the goddess of the physical world, the goddess of

[1] M. Feuillerat has a curious footnote on this passage: 'Le mot "which" est, cela va sans dire, employé selon l'habitude élisabéthaine pour "who" et se rapporte à Tellus.' But this is quite impossible; 'creatures,' as is clear from the above quotation, is the only word to which the relative can possibly refer. The error has arisen from the fact that M. Feuillerat has paraphrased the passage, and then apparently forgotten the form of the original sentence.

creation, with physical love. One need go no further than the opening stanzas of Milton's *Nativity Hymn* to see what was then thought of the Earth which Wordsworth and Meredith were later to hail as divine. And lest anyone should miss the point, Lyly drove it home in passage after passage. It is difficult to understand how anyone can read the speeches of Tellus in Act I, Scene ii, and Act V, Scene iii, and see in her anything but a sensual mistress. Here are a few of the phrases she uses: 'my amourous devices and his own loose desires'; 'disolute thoughts'; 'untamed thoughts and unbridled affections'; 'flattering of my face and devising sonnets in my favor'; 'thy oaths without number, thy kisses without measure, thy sighs without end'; 'I not without blushing confess I yielded to love'; 'the enjoying of my love made deeper wounds than the entering into it.' Strange language indeed for a mother to use of her son! But here is a stranger passage still: 'Feeling a continual burning in all my bowels and a bursting in almost every vein, I could not smother the inward fire but it must needs be perceived by the outward smoke; and by the flying abroad of diverse sparks divers judged of my scalding flames.' These words M. Feuillerat tells us depict 'avec une précision remarquable le genre d'affection que peut éprouver une mère pour l'être auquel elle a donné le jour au milieu de la souffrance'!

But the amatory tone of many of these expressions has led M. Feuillerat into formulating yet another theory. Elizabeth was nine years older than Mary. She would therefore be extremely flattered to see herself represented as Mary's successful rival in love. To this end Lyly represents Tellus as in love—and how violently in love!—with her own son. It is impossible to imagine that the Queen would have seen any flattery in such a piece of absurdity, if indeed she could have understood the point at all. Surely a picture of Cinthia, ever-young, attracting the prince from his ageing mother's side would have been a comparison much more acceptable to Elizabeth had Lyly chosen to make it. No: the theory will not work. Tellus may be Mary or Endimion may be James. As I have said, there are points in favour of either identification, but they cannot both be correct; while it seems to me possible that they are both quite beside the mark[1]. Nor do I think, indeed, that students are likely to be satisfied with the partial explanation which M. Feuillerat declares is all that is necessary. True, we need not trouble to seek for an identification for Sir Tophas and his pages. They belong to the comic underplot which was introduced to relieve the action of the main plot. Nor is it necessary to suppose that Panelion and Zontes, Pythagoras and Gyptes are meant to represent any actual persons at court. But the strange figure of Geron and his relations with Dipsas seem pointless unless they had some reference to a story well-known to Lyly's audience;

[1] Mr Percy Long even maintains that the allegory was never intended to have any personal application at all (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* New Ser. XVII, p. 164). Quot homines, tot sententiae!

while Semele, 'the very wasp of all women,' and the gentle Floscula must surely have been as easily recognisable at the time. But it would be idle to pursue the matter further. The problem of *Endimion* is, I believe, as far from solution as ever. And when someone does propound a theory which commands general acceptance, will the store of human knowledge be appreciably increased? Surely people of M. Feuillerat's powers can find something to do more profitable than making elaborate guesses at the meaning of a court charade by a second-rate writer.

M. Feuillerat's line is so extensive that it would be a wonder indeed if one could not find a weak spot here and there in his defences. And if these have been considered at some length he will not feel, I am sure, that I am wilfully unconscious of the splendid qualities of his admirable book. His survey of euphuism, upon which I have had no time to dwell, seemed to me upon a somewhat cursory reading by far the fullest and most illuminating treatment of the topic yet produced; and I may notice in passing that he will have nothing to do with the Guevara theory here either. The final chapter on Lyly's place in literature is eminently suggestive. Indeed, the whole book displays on every page such careful work, such scrupulous observation of detail, such industry and critical discernment, that it can be safely asserted that M. Feuillerat has not only lived up to the ever-rising standard of Elizabethan scholarship, but has himself helped to raise it very considerably by his example.

The volume is handsome, almost sumptuous. There is only one criticism to be made. It is too bulky. Like Falstaff, it needs levers to lift it.

JOHN DOVER WILSON.

LONDON.

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. WARD and A. R. WALLER. Vol. IV. Prose and Poetry. Sir Thomas North to Michael Drayton. Cambridge: University Press. 1909. 8vo. xii + 582 pp.

This volume of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* is full of varied interest. The period has already been dealt with to some extent in the preceding volume, and we are told by the editors that the two are to be taken together as covering the sixteenth century and the early decades of the seventeenth, apart from the drama. Readers will perhaps feel the need of some general survey of the literary tendencies of the period. But it may well be that, for the use of students, what we have here is the most wholesome and the most useful provision. Every assistance is offered for the independent study of the literature, and little encouragement is given to the taste for superficial generalisation. Above all the bibliographies, drawn up in each case by the author of the chapter to which they belong, are of almost inestimable value; and on the whole we may very well approve of the decision of the editors, 'to

limit the space devoted to generalisation rather than restrict unduly that required for bibliographies.'

Several of the chapters in the present volume deal with subjects which have a somewhat indirect bearing upon literature in the true sense of the word, and in this respect it is supplementary to the third volume. This is the case more or less with the chapter on Ralegh, and still more definitely with the two which treat of navigation and travels, and with the contributions of Professor Sorley and Dr Cunningham, the first on the philosophy of the period and the second on its politics and economics. It is well that these subjects should be treated of in connection with literature, but under the cooperative system which is adopted in this work the danger is that such chapters may have too much the character of independent essays, and that consequently there may be an absence of vital connexion with the main subject. This danger cannot be said to have been entirely avoided in the present instance, but in themselves these chapters are all valuable and interesting, and we would not willingly dispense with them.

A review of a book of this kind, if it is to have any critical value, must be limited in its scope, and the following remarks accordingly will refer almost entirely to the portions of the volume which have a direct bearing upon literature, and mainly to the three chapters which in the judgment of the present writer have the greatest literary interest and value, Mr Whibley's on the Elizabethan and Jacobean translations, Mr Grierson's on Donne and Mr Routh's on the development of popular literature in London.

The first of these is very ably written, and much of the praise which Mr Whibley metes out is thoroughly well deserved, but in certain cases it needs more qualification than the author has admitted. English prose style owes a considerable debt to North, and his Plutarch is in many ways an admirable book; but a good translation it certainly is not. No question need be raised here about accurate Greek scholarship; for North's original was not the Greek of Plutarch, but the French of Amyot. Nor is there any necessity to insist that it is a translator's duty to render as faithfully as possible, without adding touches of vivid description or pathetic eloquence, which are not to be found in the original; for though Amyot sets up for himself a high standard of fidelity, the Elizabethan idea of translation was a different one, as Mr Whibley points out, and we may reasonably make allowance for this. But it ought at least to be demanded that an Elizabethan who undertakes to translate from French should show himself capable of understanding that language, and of rendering it into English which fairly represents the meaning; and of North it must be said that he blunders far too freely, either making nonsense of what is perfectly intelligible, or omitting valuable details. Take, for example, the beginning of the life of Pompeius. Amyot has

> Et au contraire, iamais Romain n'eut l'amour du peuple si uehemente, ne qui commenceast de si bonne heure, qui plus florist en sa prosperité, ne qui plus constamment perseuerast en son aduersité, comme l'eut Pompeius.

North translates thus:

> Contrariewise, neuer any other Romane (but Pompey) had the peoples earnest goodwilles so soone, nor that in prosperitie and adversity continued lenger constant, then unto Pompey.

Can anything be worse? Amyot's finely balanced sentence becomes a shapeless and ungrammatical medley in the hands of his translator. Again,

> aians les miseres passees reduit la uille de Rome à ce poinct, que n'esperant pas de pouuoir iamais recouurer la liberté, elle ne cherchoit plus que la plus doulce et plus equitable seruitude.

For which North has this:

> for their citie was brought into such miserie, as hoping no more to see Rome recouer her lost libertie, they desired yet a more tollerable bondage.

The translator again makes absolute nonsense of the story about Flora and Geminius; mistranslates almost every clause in the account of the charges brought against Pompey on the death of his father; renders 'il les mena battant iusques en des lieux dont il estoit impossible que gens de cheual se peussent tirer,' by 'he draue them into such places, as was almost impossible for horsemen to come into'; and when Amyot rightly explains 'Imperator,' 'qui est à dire, Capitaine en chef,' North chooses to make it 'as much as Emperour or soueraine Prince,' the very mistake against which he was warned.

The case of Florio is still worse. Many have praised his Montaigne; but these surely must have paid attention mainly to the fact that he writes idiomatic Elizabethan prose, and little to the question how far he represents or misrepresents his author's meaning. Yet it is impossible to read Florio without being constantly pulled up by sentences from which no meaning whatever can be extracted, and which can only be understood by reference to the original. In fact, it may fairly be said that without the original he is unreadable; and his style has no such distinguished merit as to compensate for his incorrectness, though its eccentricity is by no means so great as the uninstructed reader will gather from Mr Whibley's account of it.

North's Plutarch, on the other hand, is a leading document of English prose style in the period to which it belongs. In eloquence, in picturesqueness of phrase, and above all in rhythmical cadence his style is superior to that of any other contemporary writer; but it must be remembered that the balance of the sentence, upon which its rhythm chiefly depends, is usually taken from Amyot, whose balance and rhythm, as we have seen, he sometimes destroys. In fact generally the praises of North by English critics have been given to a great extent at the expense of Amyot, to whom is due not only all the scholarship, but a very large part of the literary merit; and justice to Amyot, whose work is a classic of French prose, requires that this should be acknowledged.

No chapter dealing with poetry in this volume is so valuable as Professor Grierson's account of Donne, as the poet who challenged and broke the supremacy of the Petrarchian tradition. It will suffice to quote two suggestive passages, one near the beginning and the other towards the end of the chapter.

> For evil and for good, Donne is the most shaping and determining influence that meets us in passing from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries. In certain aspects of mind and training the most medieval, in temper the most modern, of his contemporaries, he is, with the radically more pedantic and neo-classical Jonson, at once the chief inspirer of his younger contemporaries and successors, and the most potent herald and pioneer of the school of poetic argument and eloquence (p. 198).

And again:

> The relation of Donne to Elizabethan poetry might, with some justice, be compared with that of Michael Angelo to earlier Florentine sculpture...Just as the grace and harmony of earlier sculpture were dissolved by the intense individuality of an artist intent only on the expression in marble of his own emotions, so the clear beauty, the rich ornament, the diffuse harmonies of Elizabethan courtly poetry...disappear in the songs and satires and elegies of a poet who will not accept Elizabethan conventions, or do homage to Elizabethan models, Italian and French; but puts out to discover a north-west passage of his own, determined to make his poetry the vivid reflection of his own intense, subtle, perverse moods, his paradoxical reasonings and curious learning, his sceptical philosophy of love and life (p. 222).

The sixteenth chapter, by Mr A. V. Routh, deals with the popular literature which grew up in the social atmosphere of London between 1584 and 1630. This chapter is most interesting, and the bibliography connected with it contains a wonderful collection of miscellaneous books. Some overlapping was perhaps inevitable with the chapter in the third volume entitled 'Elizabethan Prose Fiction,' which includes also a review of the pamphleteering work of Greene and Nashe. It is, in fact, impossible to isolate prose fiction at this period from other kinds of miscellaneous literature. But Professor Routh dwells principally upon the element of social satire. Here Nashe receives something like his due, but more with regard to substance than style. Attention is not sufficiently drawn to the development of his style from the stilted euphuism of the *Anatomie of Absurditie*, to the vigorous and idiomatic English of *Pierce Penilesse* and the succeeding pamphlets, so that he could write boldly, 'Is my style like Greene's?... Do I talk of any counterfeit birds or herbs or stones?...This I will proudly boast, that the vein which I have...is of my own begetting, and calls no man father in England but myself, neither Euphues nor Tarlton nor Greene.' Nashe, in short, had deliberately thrown over the style with which he began his literary career under the influence of *Euphues*, which had moved his enthusiasm when he was an undergraduate; and instead of the elaborate balance of sentences and the artificial similitudes which are characteristic of euphuism, had adopted the rival plan of enriching the vocabulary by coining and compounding, while holding to simplicity in sentence structure[1]. From the social satire of Greene and

[1] See the passage on this subject in *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*: ed. McKerrow, p. 183 f.

Nashe Professor Routh leads us on, with a passing glance at the evolution of formal verse satire, to the character-book and the essay, concluding with a lively account of the pamphlets and rogue-books of Jacobean London, and particularly of the popular work of Dekker and Rowlands.

Besides the three chapters to which attention has especially been called, there are others on which it would have been a pleasure to dwell, if space allowed; and it must not be supposed that there is any failure to appreciate the merits of Professor Cook's account of the Authorised Version of the Bible, Mr Child's chapters on the Song-books and Miscellanies, and on Drayton, Mr Vivian's account of Campion, Mr Hutchinson's excellent review of the preachers from Fisher to Donne, or Professor Bensly's chapter on Burton and on the contemporary writers in Latin, John Barclay, author of *Argenis*, and Owen the epigrammatist. The volume concludes with two important and interesting chapters on the external conditions and circumstances of literature during this period, one by Mr Aldis, Secretary of the University Library, on the book-trade, and the other by Mr Bass Mullinger on the foundation of libraries. Mr Aldis in a chapter of about forty pages has skilfully brought together a very large number of facts with regard to the circumstances under which books were published and sold, which certainly cannot be found in so convenient a form elsewhere, and it is not surprising that his contribution should already have been brought out in a separate form. Mr Mullinger has special qualifications to write the early history of the College and University libraries, and the association of his name with the library of St John's College, which so beautifully reproduces and preserves the original characteristics of a College library, makes the selection peculiarly happy.

On the whole this volume fully maintains the standard which had been established in the preceding three.

G. C. Macaulay.

Cambridge.

The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age. By Phœbe Sheavyn. (Publications of the University of Manchester. English series, No. 1.) Manchester: University Press. 1909. 8vo. 222 pp.

This study relates itself closely to two other recent books dealing with conditions of authorship in Elizabethan times—*Government Regulations of the Elizabethan Drama* (1908), by Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve, and *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (1909), by A. W. Pollard; its interest is centred, however, upon material which they have treated somewhat secondarily. It contains, besides an Introduction dealing with the economic, legal and social features of the time, seven chapters treating of the Elizabethan author in relation respectively to his patron, to his official censors, to his publishers, to the theatre, to his supplementary means of support, to his fellow-authors, and to his

readers. Of the three chapters offering the fresher material, the one on patronage is perhaps the most original, that on supplementary means of support the fullest of interesting illustrative incident, and that on the personal relations of authors the most vivid, in its presentation of the forced intimacies of crowded Elizabethan London.

The book shows much study in the literature and documents of the period, but almost no acquaintance with recent critical discussion. Cunningham, Collier and Fleay are the critics and editors most frequently cited as authorities, even when, as in the case of Henslowe's Diary, or the Accounts of the Revels, vastly better editorial and critical work upon the texts has been done by later scholars. So also, in the discussion of literary quarrels, there is no mention of the work of Mr Penniman or of Mr Small on the 'War of the Theatres,' nor of the recent treatment of the Marprelate Controversy by Mr J. D. Wilson. Some reference to Professor Gregory Smith's work on Elizabethan Critical Essays, or to Mr Einstein's book *The Italian Renaissance in England*, would have been apposite in the last chapter dealing with the state of literary taste. Miss Sheavyn's book shows the lack of the steadying judgment which contact on her part with these and other helpful studies would have produced. *The Government Regulation of Elizabethan Drama*, cited above, is in marked contrast, in the judicial handling of disputed questions, as for example the question of official censorship, its scope and its fairness. In the discussion of authors and publishers Mr Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* would have proved most valuable, but it was probably not available for use by the author of this book. Miss Sheavyn has here followed closely after Mr Sidney Lee in her conclusions, as the following quotations will show:

> The law regarded, or was popularly believed to regard, the mere possession of a manuscript, apart from its previous entry in the book of the Stationers' Company, as implying ownership, and the consequent right to dispose of it. There was thus a regular trade carried on, to the injury of writers, in the illicit procuring and selling of manuscripts. . . . The worst of it was that a book once printed and entered in the Stationers' Register became the property of him who entered it, and no other person could safely publish it, however necessary might be an amended edition.

Mr Pollard, on the contrary, brings forward many proofs that the Elizabethan sin of piracy has been greatly exaggerated, both in its extent and in its results. He finds that pirated editions were rarely, if ever, entered regularly on the Stationers' Register, not one of the obviously pirated quartos of Shakespeare's plays having been so entered. Moreover, the evidence available indicates that, outside of dramatists, scarcely more than a half dozen writers suffered from piracy. He shows that such groups of plays as were published appeared at times when, by reason of the plague or Puritanical opposition, the theatres were closed, as in 1593–4 or 1600, and he makes it highly probable that the plays were published by the players themselves to help them in their financial straits, rather than by unscrupulous printers. So far too from an author's having, as Miss Sheavyn says, no redress when his

book had once been published, Mr Pollard declares: 'The publication of a surreptitious edition left him free to do exactly what he liked. The existence of an edition in print absolved him from the need of a license, and we find him simply reprinting his own text without registration or other formality. This is what Nashe did when Richard Johnes took advantage of his absence to register and print his *Pierce Penilesse*. Mr Lee, if he will read Nashe's letter to his authorised publisher, J(ohn) B(usby), will hardly contend that Nashe had found it "necessary to conciliate" Johnes.' Mr Pollard cites too the interesting case of Bacon's Essays, which were first fraudulently entered on the Register to Richard Seiges. Later, on the margin by that entry, was written 'Cancellatus ista intratio per curiam tentam 7 febrarij.' A little lower down is an entry, by Bacon's authorised publisher, Humphrey Hooper, of the *Essaies*, 'Vnder thandes of Master Francis Bacon,' the book being ready for sale two days later. The whole matter of editorial carelessness too, so much dwelt upon by Miss Sheavyn, as by Mr Lee, Mr Pollard thinks has been over-emphasised, and his findings in regard to the first Folio of Shakespeare certainly go far to justify his view. So also his conclusions are much less depressing as to the remuneration for literary work in Elizabethan times.

Indeed, the greatest fault of the book under review is its persistent pessimism. The writer is not satisfied with insisting that patronage was indispensable, and yet fitful, wholly inadequate, degrading, and hard to come by; that the official censorship was increasingly severe, propped up by unscrupulous and greedy informers, and apt to cause expensive delays or unjustifiable prohibitions; that editorial care was an undiscovered art; that neither authors nor honest printers could hope for any protection in their property; that even where the author was left the gloomy privilege of selling his manuscript to the printer, the latter —somewhat pardonably, one thinks—could not always be persuaded to accept it, or if he did accept it, would often give a mere pittance in return; that when, driven by the pinch of want, the wretched Elizabethan author looked about for supplementary means of livelihood, he found little to his taste, and nothing sufficient for his needs; and that the bickering, seething group of his fellow-writers in London did little but add to his distress. His last hope, a responsive, appreciative reading public was also denied him, for his public had a crudity and a lack of taste all but barbarian. The writer of the book under review seems indeed in complete bondage to one set of facts regarding that age of many moods and aspects, and has left out of count the very genius of the Elizabethan spirit, its irrepressible vitality and resiliency, its exaggerated romanticism, which loved its own woes quite as much as its pleasures, and never failed to paint them in high colouring. The best argument for favourable conditions of literary life in Elizabethan times is the extent of that life and its results. If misfortunes multiplied, so did writers; and the dominant note in the literature of the period is certainly not despair, or even distress.

A few errors of detail may be noted. It is of course inaccurate to

say that Beaumont wrote nothing alone, or that Beaumont and Fletcher dethroned the romantic in drama for the study of contemporary social types. It is confusing to read in one place, 'Dramatic writers occasionally added to the profession of playwright that of actor, but it is probable that the number of dramatists who were also actors has been overestimated. With our present knowledge it does not appear that there were more than nine, &c.,' and in another, 'Since many dramatists were actors, and most of them played an active part in their own rehearsals, the two callings were apt to be regarded as one.' Again in one place we are told that 'We need not go so far as to hold that they [the actors] were all regarded as outcasts and vagabonds because classed by law as such,' and in another that 'it was not by a mere technicality that players were regarded as rogues and vagabonds.' Moreover, it is worth while to remember in this connection Hamlet's extremely cordial friendliness to the players throughout all their visit to Elsinore, no less than the much-quoted sonnet in which Shakespeare seems to bewail his lot as an actor.

However, much as one may dissent from the main contention of the book, and whatever its faults of detail, it cannot fail to be interesting and helpful. This too, although it cannot be called contributive in any large or constructive way. Its merits are rather of the literary sort than those severer ones which characterize research.

O. L. Hatcher.

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

Campion's Works. Edited by Percival Vivian. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1909. 8vo. lxv + 400 pp.

This edition of Campion's work is an outgrowth of an earlier edition which Mr Vivian prepared some years ago for the well-known 'Muses' Library.' It contains all the authentic works of the Elizabethan writer, in verse and prose, in English and in Latin; and, in addition, certain poems which the editor, on external or internal evidence, or both, ascribes to him. Thus, at last, Campion is instated in his true position in the rank of English poets, and our interest in him and his writings, which was first of all awakened by Mr Bullen and Professor Arber, grows the stronger now that the full canon of his literary work lies before us.

But the preparation of a complete edition of Campion's works is not the only debt which we owe to Mr Vivian. He has also thrown new and valuable light upon his career; and though much concerning him still remains dark, we are enabled to trace the main outlines of his life in the story which his editor has to lay before us in his full and scholarly Introduction. Mr Vivian has spared no pains in the examination of state records in print and manuscript, and he has sifted, and

weighed with judicious discernment, the material which he has thus brought to light. Among other things, he has definitely established the date and circumstances of the poet's birth, showing that he was the son of a Cursitor of the Chancery Court in London, and born in the year 1567. We are thus able to place Campion among the earlier school of Elizabethan lyrists, and to regard him as the contemporary of Marlowe, Greene and Shakespeare.

Mr Vivian traces the poet in his career as a student of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and subsequently of Gray's Inn. He brings forward evidence to show that, in all probability, he served for a time in the army, and saw something of military campaigning in France. Thence he proceeds to tell of the poet's literary activity—the publication of his poems and prose writings and his share in the production of court Masques. We could have wished for more information as to Campion's career as a physician, but definite facts are, doubtless, hard to find: the question of Campion's complicity in the mysterious death of Sir Thomas Overbury is examined with great care.

Mr Vivian gives us a pleasant sketch of the poet's personality during the later years of his life, and it is one which will commend itself to the reader of his poems. He bids us think of him as 'a kindly gentleman, full of ripe experience and judgment, yet cherishing the memories of old loves and friendships, and the generous illusions of youth; devoted to the studies of poetry, music and medicine, a true son of Apollo, as he was never tired of urging; clothed with that finer tact and sympathy which comes to a good physician.'

In the second chapter of his Introduction, Mr Vivian deals with Campion's works, and drawing attention to the poet's habit—which, by the way, he shared with Andrew Marvell and other scholarly singers—of expressing the same thoughts in Latin and in English, he claims for him the authorship of a number of poems scattered among the song-books of the period. In particular, he attributes to Campion the set of five *Cantos*, published in 1591 among the *Poems and Sonets of Sundry Other Noblemen and Gentlemen*, as an appendix to the surreptitious edition of *Astrophel and Stella*. He also claims for him the *Ayres that were sung and playd at Brougham Castle* (1618). In estimating Campion's rank among English poets, Mr Vivian rightly regards him as a link between the early school of Elizabethan poets and the later school represented by Donne and his followers. He draws attention to the musical quality of his verse and to his emancipation from the trammels of laborious versification. The wonderful charm and freedom of movement of some of Campion's best known lyrics has led to a somewhat exaggerated view of his metrical emancipation, and wonder has been expressed that Campion could at the same time be the author of those songs and of the pedantic *Observations in the Art of English Poesie*, in which he advocates the imitation of classical measures. The fact is, however, that Campion practised what he preached. Several of his poems are lumbering attempts to reproduce the classical measures upon which he set such store; moreover, whereas in some of his songs

he has all the sweetness and spontaneity of the noblest Elizabethan lyrists, there are others in which his pinions drag the ground, encumbered as they are with a weight of pedantry.

It is to be wished that the editor of this collection of Campion's works could have told us more about his religious verse; for here too the poet is an interesting transitional figure. Some of the religious pieces contained in his *Bookes of Ayres* resemble those metrical paraphrases of the Hebrew Psalms which stand for religious lyric poetry in the early Elizabethan period; but into others there is breathed that spirit of personal feeling and individual soul-searching which we meet with in the religious lyrists of the seventeenth century.

Mr Vivian appends some valuable Notes to his edition of Campion's works, and the equipment of the volume with Index and Bibliography is most scholarly.

F. W. Moorman.

Leeds.

The Works of Sir John Suckling. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by A. Hamilton Thompson. London: Routledge. 1910. 8vo. xvii + 424 pp.

In this volume Mr Hamilton Thompson has given us a careful reprint, based on the early editions of the *Fragmenta Aurea*, of all Suckling's writings in verse and prose. In a short Introduction—which might with advantage have been longer—he relates the chief facts in the author's life, and forms a sane and liberal estimate of the man's character. He also makes some attempt to indicate his relation to the poets of the preceding generation and to those contemporary with himself. He rightly insists on his detachment from Ben Jonson, adding that 'his inclinations led him rather in the direction which had been pointed so forcibly by Donne.' Mr Thompson has drawn attention to certain verbal reminiscences of Donne's *Songs and Sonets* in the lyrics of Suckling, but it might well be contended that the influence of the Elizabethan poet penetrated much deeper than this. For Donne was the poet who waged relentless war in his early lyrics upon the Petrarchian tradition in English lyric poetry as represented by Spenser and the sonneteers as a whole; and in this warfare Suckling may be looked upon as Donne's direct successor. Something too might have been said of Suckling's influence upon post-Restoration lyric poetry. Of the Cavalier poets of Charles I's reign, Suckling alone seems to have been widely read in the next generation. Dryden's well-known reference, in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, to Suckling's courtly style and to his reproduction in his poetry of 'the conversation of a gentleman,' and Congreve's Millamant's praise of 'natural, easy Suckling,' are eloquent tributes to his vogue in the second half of the seventeenth century; and it would have been well within the scope of Mr Thompson's survey to have indicated the

influence which Suckling exerted upon the lyrics of poets like Sedley and Rochester.

The most interesting part of the Introduction is that in which resemblances of idea and characterisation are traced between Suckling's lamely-constructed plays and those of Shakespeare and other Elizabethan dramatists; while in his Notes, which are excellent, Mr Thompson renders valuable service by pointing out, among other things, a number of passages in these plays which bear a more or less close resemblance to passages in Shakespearean drama.

F. W. Moorman.

Leeds.

The Literature of the Victorian Era. By Hugh Walker. Cambridge: University Press. 1910. 8vo. vi + 1067 pp.

A critic could perhaps set himself no more difficult task than that undertaken by Prof. Walker in the book under review. To pass judgment on the achievements in Art and Philosophy of our own generation or of the generation which fathered us is at all times a work fraught with danger and difficulty, for it means the critical analysis of the influences which have done most to determine our own imaginative bent and standards of judgment. We are in acute danger both of over-estimating and of under-rating what we criticize. Further there is the obvious difficulty of obtaining a right perspective and a right focus. Time is needed to reveal clear development in the multiplicity of interests and movements which perplex us in the literature of our own period; to leave in high light those which were of intrinsic importance and to cast into beneficent shadow those which belonged only to their day.

At no period has the difficulty of seeing behind the endless agitation to the central principles been greater than at the present. Professor Walker has, we think, carried through his task with conspicuous success, —a success due chiefly to his fine and catholic literary taste, but in part also to the scheme upon which he has framed his work. Like Mr Courthope he works on the principle that the criticism of literature must be based on a study of social, political and intellectual developments, but his outlook and method are more philosophic than those of his predecessor. He lays more stress upon the thought which inspired the movements of the age and less upon its political and social manifestations. He believes that 'the surest way to penetrate the thought of any age is to study it in the systematic thinkers'; and he therefore divides his book into two main sections, dealing in the first with Speculative Thought, in the second with Creative Art. These divisions are flanked on the one side by an Introduction, on the other by that necessary evil, a section devoted to 'Et Cetera.' The Introduction, by its contrast of the 'rationalistic' and 'Catholic-romantic' movements in thought, suggests at once an excellent point of view from which to study

the multifarious products of Victorian Literature. Professor Walker also insists at the outset on the influence of Hegel's thought upon artist, theologian and man of science, declaring that 'his conception of development has done more than anything else to make modern thought what it is.' His own method as critic and historian of Literature is in itself a fine proof of the influence of Hegel's conception, an influence which is evident not only in his analysis in the introductory chapter of the relation between political and literary developments, but in the organic construction of the whole book, and in the perception of growth and relation revealed in his treatment of individual authors.

Under 'Speculative Thought' he deals comprehensively with writers and thinkers in Theology, Philosophy and Science, and makes a valuable and original contribution to the study of the literature of the age by his analysis of the spiritual and intellectual experience which is its basis.

With some details in the working-out of his scheme we are inclined to find fault. In dealing with non-literary writers, such as minor theologians and philosophers, he is apt to drift into the unessential. This is perhaps the inevitable outcome of a passion for completeness. Yet on the other hand in his treatment of the main intellectual influences behind the age he appears to make an important omission. He devotes the whole of his second introductory chapter to Carlyle as representing the 'German Influence,' and though we may agree as to the importance of Carlyle's influence, we cannot but think that Professor Walker does something more than justice to its predominance, when he is led thereby totally to ignore the influence of Wordsworth upon the century. Carlyle is credited with bringing to England from Germany the Gospel of a humanized religion offering a much-needed alternative to atheism and formalism, and with introducing into literary criticism the principle of appeal to the laws of 'human nature and the nature of things at large.' How far Carlyle was directly influenced by Wordsworth is a matter of small importance. It is in any case certain that Wordsworth had preached the Gospel of a humanized religion, and proclaimed 'a vigorous human-heartedness as the constituent principle of true taste' to a generation of writers and thinkers the best of whom were profoundly influenced by his thought. Further the new intimacy with nature into which Wordsworth led men's minds had a profound and far-reaching effect upon the spirit and the manner in which poets and thinkers of succeeding generations have regarded the natural world. Professor Walker gives a clear exposition of Ruskin's religion of nature and comments justly on the abundance and fidelity of natural description in Tennyson and other poets, but he has failed to indicate that Ruskin's faith and the poet's treatment of nature owe their inspiration ultimately to Wordsworth. Again we must take exception at one or two details of classification. The first section, 'Speculative Thought,' prepares the way for the second, 'Creative Art,' and the third, entitled 'Et Cetera,' is a useful receptacle for what cannot be included in the other two: but there are few spirits that will not rise in revolt at the spectacle of

Landor relegated, under 'Et Cetera,' to the limbo of Miscellaneous Prose. If minor novelists such as Lytton and Disraeli are allowed a place under 'Creative Art,' surely Landor, one of the greatest writers of imaginative prose, should have been equally honoured.

On the whole Professor Walker steers clear with an admirably level judgment of the dangers of over-estimating and under-rating. In dangerous cases he seems to hold himself deliberately 'on this side idolatry,' and his estimates are sometimes even damaged by over-caution. That of Francis Thompson fails, we think, to do justice to the extraordinary richness and glow of language and the rare rhythmic and melodic qualities of verse which make Thompson, more indisputably than any of his generation, a true poet. In the more important case of George Meredith he fails to rise to the greatness of his subject, and his pages of appreciation leave the reader somewhat cold. He states at the outset that 'no writer of the nineteenth century stands more alone than he, and none is more difficult to deal with.' He proceeds to a careful examination of Meredith's work, but though his appreciation of individual books and characters is just and illuminating, he makes no attempt to analyse the essential characteristics of Meredith's thought and style. Meredith is one of those writers who need the criticism of interpretation. The very qualities of mind which are his strength, his extraordinary swiftness of thought, his imaginative habit of seeing analogies, of thinking in pictures, in music, in every medium in fact which his Protean experience makes natural to him, all these tend to make him obscure, and have created for him his reputation for affectation in style and wilful subtlety of thought. Professor Walker justly condemns Meredith's abuse of his qualities, but fails to reveal the origin and essence of the qualities themselves. He fails moreover to do justice to Meredith's philosophy. As poet and novelist Meredith has perhaps done more to shape the conceptions of life of the present generation of men and women than any other writer. His fearless acceptance of the facts of modern knowledge, his reverence for science and supreme trust in Reason, combined with the deeply religious faith of an imaginative mind, have typified for groping minds the ideal which they would fain attain. The influence has been all the greater in that it has worked through imaginative forms, and in particular through the representation of the drama of human life. We should have welcomed here some indication of the way in which Meredith absorbed the principles of evolution, of his attitude towards religious dogma, and above all of that conception of the relation between the spiritual and the physical which makes his philosophy of life at once so austere and so catholic.

Against these instances of over-cautious estimate we have to set one or two sins of over-valuation. That which makes the strongest impression is the eulogy of Oscar Wilde which closes the book. Professor Walker stakes this author's reputation not upon his poetry, his plays or his fairy-tales, but upon the two works written after his downfall. He insists upon the supreme power of *De Profundis*. 'Surely,' he writes, 'no such cry ever before came from the depths,' and he closes his

appreciation of Wilde and with it his book on Victorian Literature with the following words:—'The curtain falls in gloom at once upon the century and upon the most brilliant figure of its closing years. But to him who reads *De Profundis* thoughtfully and sympathetically, it is a gloom which is flecked with light, a death which carries with it the promise of resurrection.'

We do not doubt Professor Walker's sincerity nor suspect him here of false rhetoric, but we believe that to read *De Profundis* thoughtfully and sympathetically, with the mind as well as with the aesthetic sense, is to find in it a work of art of extraordinary beauty, yet at the same time a document lacking the essential quality of sincerity. Probably it was as true as Oscar Wilde could make it. But we believe that his art is most exquisite where it has least basis in actual experience. In the fairy-tales, in his comedies and in some of his poetry that perfect balance between form and content is attained which puts literary products in the first rank. The enduring qualities in Wilde's writings are in our opinion the miraculously fine and delicate wit, the charming fancy and the rare felicity of expression which he used to interpret the humour and romance of that sphere of experience that seems to shut out the harsher realities of life.

It is perhaps in his estimate of the two great rival poets, Tennyson and Browning, that Professor Walker gives best proof of his sure insight and level judgment. He is alive to the faults as well as to the genius of both poets, but whilst he is confident of Tennyson's lasting reputation he hesitates to predict as much for Browning. His estimate of the two is suggestive of the turn of the tide in present-day opinion. A little while ago Tennyson's faults were allowed to obscure his greatness, whilst Browning's greatness was made to embrace even his faults. Browning is more truly than Tennyson the poet of an age. Though his thought is profounder, the appeal of his poetry is less universal. His case suggests an interesting literary phenomenon. Writers of marked originality will often speak the truth to their own age in a way which, however eccentric, is welcomed and understood by that age; but their language quickly becomes obsolete, and in a generation or two people have ceased to understand it and are beginning to want their Gospel preached in a new form. In poetry it is beauty of form rather than value of thought which is the pledge of lastingness. The power of Browning's poetry lies primarily in its thought, only secondarily in its beauty, and according to the inexorable law of art, Tennyson's poetry with its thought enshrined in more perfect form will last the longer. On Dickens and Thackeray Professor Walker is again sane and discerning, though lovers of Dickens will feel that justice is in his case meted out somewhat too coldly. He shows a full appreciation of Dickens's humour and power of observation, whilst he points out the exaggeration of his pathos and lays perhaps rather too much stress on his want of reflective power. His treatment of Thackeray is more sympathetic, and he deals admirably with the problem of his alleged cynicism. The chapter illustrates both the merits and the defects of the author's habit of

approaching great writers from the starting-point of popular conceptions. His criticism of Dickens is hardened by his sense of the exaggerated popular estimate, to a temper somewhat too judicial. And again his appreciation of Thackeray is thrown out of balance by his desire to combat the ordinary view of Thackeray as pessimist and cynic. This leads to a protracted discussion of *Vanity Fair*, quite disproportionate to the short criticism which follows of Thackeray's greatest novel, *Esmond*. On the other hand he opens the way for a sounder appreciation of both writers by investigating with insight and combating with excellent judgment the one-sided estimate of the public.

In the management of his material throughout the book Professor Walker has aimed at two things, compactness and vitality, and if he has at times pursued the second to the detriment of the first, he has certainly chosen the lesser of two evils. He is amply justified in his full use of quotation to illustrate his authors. It is in his own manner of treating his material that his desire for vitality and dislike of the academic and dry-as-dust method sometimes betray him. He frequently tends to long-windedness and repetition, as for instance in the chapter on Carlyle. He slips easily into over-statement, as for example when he calls Browning's *Saul*, 'a poem unsurpassed for lyrical fervour and beauty.' He does not entirely escape the taint of journalese. Dickens is referred to as 'the Laureate of the London streets,' and Carlyle as 'the seamed and haggard sage of Chelsea.' And finally his style is throughout 'popular' rather than scholarly. The colloquial use of 'just' in the sense of 'merely,' and of the auxiliary 'do' for emphasis, along with a flickering tendency to quotation of pun and anecdote, are the marks of a style somewhat out of keeping with the subject. But these are all minor points. The book is essentially alive. It deals adequately with a great subject, and it will make a sure appeal alike to the scholar and the general reader.

H. Darbishire.

Oxford.

Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte. Von Friedrich Panzer. I. *Beowulf.* Munich: C. H. Beck. 1910. 8vo. ix + 409 pp.

Nine years ago Professor Panzer in his *Hilde Gudrun* set out to show the importance of the folk-tale (Märchen) for the study of Germanic saga origins. In the Studies, of which the volume under notice forms the first instalment, his aim is to prove that certain Germanic and Scandinavian sagas are but variants of the ancient and widespread tale of the Bear's Son, a variant of which is related by the brothers Grimm under the title of 'Dat Erdmänneken.' When Simrock and afterwards Laistner threw out a hint of a possible connection between the Beowulf story of Grendel and the Bear's Son, little heed was paid by scholars, no doubt because the tale had never been made the subject of detailed investigation. Dr Panzer therefore has been well

advised in prefacing his studies with what he justly terms 'the most searching analysis of a folk-tale ever undertaken.' We are first given a list of over 200 versions of the Bear's Son tale collected from all quarters of the world. Through this vast mass of material Dr Panzer has gone with admirable patience and discernment, and having established the primitive form he has succeeded in disentangling certain main types under which all the numerous variants can be brought. This analysis, which in itself is a notable contribution to the study of the origins and development of the folk-tale, occupies not far short of two-thirds of the volume. The task was all the more difficult in that the versions of the Bear's Son story were with few exceptions not recorded until the 19th century, and moreover in many instances there is an admixture of incidents and motives from other tales. Dr Panzer concludes his investigation with the following words: 'We have been able to trace the tale of the Bear's Son back to Indo-Iranian times, not only in its main outlines but also in its whole structure (Aufbau). For it is my conviction that so far from the tale being a submerged (gesunkener) myth we must recognise in the myths of which we have been treating both poetic and religious interpretations and expansions of the older folk-tale.'

In his preface Dr Panzer explains that it was his original intention to treat of the Beowulf saga incidentally, in its relation to the Siegfried saga, in the investigation of which he was more especially interested. But before he could hope to throw light on the origin of the Siegfried story he found that it would be necessary to examine the Beowulf saga and its relation to certain Scandinavian sagas. This examination occupies the remaining portion of the book. The author begins by mentioning, only to dismiss as impossible, nay ludicrous, the various explanations of the Beowulf-Grendel story as a culture-myth, a nature-myth, an allegory, or a combination of all three. He cannot understand how any person in his senses can be satisfied with such 'bloodless intellectual abstractions' as, for instance, the personification of the sea-depths in Grendel's mother. Dr Panzer remarks that the only way to dispose of such theories is to bring forward a new one. For him the key to the enigma is furnished by the folk-tale of the Bear's Son. 'Saga and folk-tale,' he says, 'have not merely some motives in common; the story of Beowulf's fight with Grendel is in my view nothing else than the tale of the Bear's Son turned by the art of the *scop* into a hero-saga.' To prove this thesis he takes the incidents in the first part of the *Beowulf* and for most of them finds parallels in the folk-tale. It must be admitted that Dr Panzer's methods here show less originality than his main thesis. When the folk-tale mentions an incident or circumstance not contained in the poem, the latter is said to have lost it (p. 266). When incidents in the poem have no parallels in the tale, they are regarded as belonging to the 'style' of the poem and containing 'no substantial nucleus' (p. 273). There is a third method employed by Dr Panzer. Whereas, for example, Grendel escapes from Beowulf's grasp with the loss of his

arm, in the tale there are two versions; in one the monster loses a limb by a blow from a sword, in the other he loses his beard in wresting himself free. Here Dr Panzer postulates a 'Verschleifung,' or blend of the two variants of the tale, as the original of the *Beowulf* version. By the aid of such methods as these remarkable results are to be obtained, as is well known; and with such a Protean folk-tale as the Bear's Son an enthusiastic parent of a theory can go far. Professor Panzer at times shows a *naïveté* which such parenthood may perhaps excuse. 'Die fortschreitende Erzählung des Epos,' he remarks, 'hat nun manches recht Auffallende.' This is said *à propos* of the visit of the Danes to the pool where Grendel disappeared. 'Apart from the satisfaction of curiosity it is not clear what was the object of the ride to the pool.' In other words, it is not easy to account for an incident in the poem for which there is no parallel in the folk-tale. Similar surprise is expressed by Dr Panzer at the coming of Grendel's mother to avenge her son, for which there is again no parallel in the Bear's Son. On the other hand, Dr Panzer is obliged to admit that important parts of the tale are not found in the poem, for example the last part, which describes the discovery and rescue of the women in the underworld.

The source of the story of Beowulf's fight with the dragon Professor Panzer seeks and finds with equal confidence in the folk-tale. The 'Thor type' of dragon story, as he terms it, in which the hero dies after slaying the monster, to which type the *Beowulf* story belongs, is represented in a number of versions, chiefly but not exclusively Germanic. Of these versions a list of 38 is given. It is hardly a matter of chance, says Dr Panzer, that the Danish folk-tale of Henrik and the dragon corresponds more closely than any of the other versions to the narrative of the *Beowulf*. The English epic poem presents us with two objects for Beowulf's fight with the dragon, (1) the freeing of the people and (2) the gaining of the treasure. Now the hidden treasure motive does not occur in the series of versions of the folk-tale to which the Danish tale belongs. The required combination of motives is found in a Polish dragon tale which is identical with the *Beowulf* version and which moreover preserves an older tradition, lost in the *Beowulf*, viz. that of the identity of the dragon with the man who originally hid the treasure. Dr Panzer, in opposition to Sievers, sees a decided difference of type between the *Beowulf* story and the story of Frotho's fight as related by Saxo; nevertheless he recognises points of resemblance in detail. He agrees with Olrik that the story of Frotho's fight is a late composition which borrowed numerous details from an older Danish lay. Upon this lay, Dr Panzer thinks, the *Beowulf* version was based.

The third and last part of the book is devoted to an examination of certain Scandinavian sagas, those of Grettir, Grimr, Ormr and Bǫðvarr Bjarki, which, as is well known, show more or less resemblance to the first part of the *Beowulf*. It must suffice here to say that, holding as he does the view that these sagas are versions of the Bear's Son tale,

Dr Panzer is able to view the question of their relationship to the Anglo-Saxon epic from a new standpoint. His treatment of this subject, including his criticism of recent theories, is of real value. He considers it proved that a poem was composed by a Danish or Geatish *scop*, based on the folk-tale of the Bear's Son. Upon this poem or lay were further based (1) The saga of Bǫðvarr Bjarki, and (2) on its reaching England in one or more versions, the first adventure of the *Beowulf*. As regards the relation of the sagas of Grettir and Ormr to the *Beowulf* and to each other, Dr Panzer unhesitatingly rejects Boer's theory and accepts that of Bugge, which regards these two sagas as independent of the Beowulf story in respect of their contents but as showing the influence of the epic poem in respect of their literary presentation. The *Beowulf* is according to Dr Panzer not so much a mere translation as a free re-shaping (Bearbeitung) of the Scandinavian poem, of which the essential features are preserved. The dragon-fight is based on a Danish folk-tale and may have formed part of the original poem on which the *Beowulf* version is modelled.

In this book Professor Panzer has produced a work which is certain to influence powerfully the direction of the study of the *Beowulf* in particular and of Germanic saga origins in general. That there is a strong general resemblance between the first part of the *Beowulf* and the saga of Bjarki on the one hand and the folk-tale of the Bear's Son on the other is, we think, satisfactorily proved by Dr Panzer, though with some of his methods and inferences in working out his thesis we are not in agreement. His summary and contemptuous treatment of theories of myth and allegory will inevitably arouse the hostility of the mythically minded and the allegorical, and blind them to the real strength of his main position. Nevertheless Dr Panzer has done a great service to the study of our epic and perhaps a still greater one to the study of the folk-tale.

W. J. Sedgefield.

Manchester.

An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. By the Rev. Walter W. Skeat. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1910. 4to. xliv + 780 pp.

It is now close upon thirty years since the appearance of the first edition of this standard work. During these thirty years philology has made as great advances as any other science, indeed has first become a science. Seldom has an author the energy, and still less the courage, to essay a thorough revision of the work of his youth, but this has been done with conspicuous success by Dr Skeat. Since 1881 (the date of the first edition) much new material has been accumulated by the editing of a large number of Anglo-Saxon and Middle English texts, but still more important has been the compilation of full and scientific dictionaries of other European languages and more especially of the allied Germanic languages and dialects. Such works as Kalkar's

dictionary of Early Danish, Feilberg's work on the Jutish dialects, Kluge's German etymological dictionary, Falk and Torp's Norse and Danish etymological dictionary, and the various dictionaries and studies of the Low German dialects, have thrown light on many an obscure place in the history of English words. Professor Skeat's own studies in Anglo-French and its influence on Middle English spelling and pronunciation have furnished the clue to many Middle English anomalies, and during the last twenty years the study of phonetics as a necessary basis for scientific phonology has tended to make etymology a more exact science than it has hitherto been. In the study of English more particularly, the great advances during the last thirty years have been first the compilation of the *Dialect Dictionary*, and secondly the appearance of more than two-thirds of the *New English Dictionary*. Dr Skeat has used these new works largely in the revision of his dictionary, but when one remembers his ungrudging labours in gathering materials for both these compilations, and the large amount of etymological and other work by Dr Skeat which is incorporated in them, it is difficult to determine where the balance of indebtedness lies.

When we turn to the dictionary itself, the first thing that strikes us is its extraordinary success in combining fulness of information with conciseness of expression, a success which makes it far more than a mere dictionary of etymology in the narrow sense of the term, for it provides valuable comment on many sides of English life and activity. In this it contrasts very favourably with the dry etymological detail of such works as those of Kluge or Falk and Torp. Again and again Dr Skeat chooses just the right quotation to bring home the whole history of a word to us, and many of his articles are packed with interesting comments on some aspect of English social life. Secondly, I think we must note the pleasant infusion of a personal element, often sorely lacking in the work of lexicographers. We are only too thankful when, in Dr Skeat's own words, he permits himself 'to indulge in comments, discussions, and even suggestions and speculations which would be out of place in a dictionary of the usual character.' One hears the echo of the Professor's own voice in the articles on 'beefeater,' 'greyhound,' 'harebell,' 'no,' 'Whitsunday,' 'woolward,' 'ywis.' Excellent are some of his comments, *e.g.* (*s.v.* schooner) 'as a rule derivations which require a story to be told turn out to be false,' or the note on 'glamour' (*s.v.* gramarye) 'I desire here to record my opinion that the word 'glamour,' magic, also used by Scott in the same poem...is nothing but another form of 'gramere,' *i.e.* grammar. The note in Vigfusson's Dictionary asserting the identity of 'glamour' with Icel. 'glāmr,' the moon, cannot be seriously entertained.'

On every page we have examples of Dr Skeat's own etymological work, though he himself rarely adduces the evidence of authorship by referring to his books on English etymology, his various editions of Middle English texts or other volumes in which that work was first published. The words 'calthrop,' 'derring-do,' 'dismal.' 'fond,' 'gallop,' 'grail,' 'ingot,' 'jeer,' 'jerkin,' 'luff,' 'rigmarole,' 'scavenger'

are among the most interesting examples of Dr Skeat's own discoveries. At times we owe to him, not the whole etymology of a word, but the explanation of some stage in its history, *e.g.* the discovery of the unsyncopated form of O.E. 'hlaford' in a single passage in the Psalter, or the unique occurrence of the Anglo-Saxon form of 'hog.' At times light is thrown on a rare or difficult use of a familiar word, *e.g.* Beaumont and Fletcher's 'She had better have worn *pasterns*,' or the Shakespearean 'Since Frenchmen are so *braid*.' Nor must we forget the many interesting etymologies of bird and beast and flower. Folk-etymology has often done its best to baffle the investigator, but seldom is it successful with Dr Skeat. Occasionally the author differs from the *New English Dictionary*, as in his etymologies of 'curse,' 'pier,' 'kersey'; some words he frankly gives up as of unknown etymology, *e.g.* 'culvert,' 'barren,' 'prawn'; very rarely does he hazard a guess, as in the suggested history of 'harlequin.'

One may be permitted a few words of general criticism. It is somewhat to be regretted that roots are given so prominent a position in the derivation of words. The connexion of some modern word with an Indo-Germanic root is often very distant and throws little light on its history or present meaning. At the same time the prominence given to the surd with its capital letters ensuing has the danger for the lay mind that it encourages the idea that in primitive times language consisted exclusively of roots and that roots are essentially older than words that are derived from them. Another and smaller point of criticism is that it seems a pity to draw a distinction (in certain etymologies), not between Old Northumbrian and West Saxon, but between Old Northumbrian and Anglo-Saxon. A word that is only found in Old Northumbrian is none the less Anglo-Saxon, just as any modern dialectal word is none the less English. The crucial instance where Dr Skeat's distinction seems misleading is in the history of the word 'till.' There can be no question that the preposition 'til' was as genuine and common in the Northern dialect of Old English as in the Scandinavian languages, and it is natural to explain its prevalence in the North rather by reference to native than to foreign influence.

The printing and general form of the work are as excellent as ever, and it is extremely difficult to detect any errors. After much reading of the book one slight mistake, under the word 'street,' was discovered: there may be others, but they are certainly very few.

There can be no finality in dictionary making, and Dr Skeat would be the last to claim it. There remains much still to be done in working out the etymology of that somewhat numerous group of words which we roughly class together as Low German, but whose precise history is unknown. Dr Skeat has done much even in this direction, and one cannot but realise that in his new edition of the *Etymological Dictionary* he has given us the best summary of the history of our language that we possess, and one worthy to be compared with the best in other lands.

Allen Mawer.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Dante and his Convito. A Study with Translations. By W. M. Rossetti. London, Elkin Matthews. 1910. 8vo. pp. 130.

Dante, as is well known, only completed four out of the projected fifteen books of the Convivio, and incorporated only three of the fourteen poems on which he intended to comment. It is an interesting subject of speculation to search among his extant poems for the missing eleven. Personally we should find it very difficult in making such a selection to leave out the fascinating and extremely puzzling canzone *Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute.*

W. M. Rossetti, who follows, on the whole, Fraticelli's leading in this matter, apparently rejects that notable poem, though not without some hesitation.

His book, which cannot, with his name attached to it, fail to attract English lovers of Dante, is a quaintly interesting study of the *Convivio* ('*Convito*' he still calls it, with sturdy conservatism) in which a short historical sketch is followed by a severely literal translation of the three canzoni of the extant books, opposite to which is printed in each case another translation embodying Dante's own mystical interpretation as given in the prose commentary. Then follows a short *résumé* of the four prose treatises. After this we have the four Sonnets addressed to the 'Lady of the Window,' treated like the three canzoni, and these are followed by precisely similar translations of ten poems presumed to have been intended for the later books of the Convivio, and a few remarks on the possibly allegorical significance of other poems of Dante. The book ends, rather inconsequently, with a translation of the famous decree of Cante de' Gabrielli followed by a recommendation of Perez' *La Beatrice Svelata*, which, though certainly not irrelevant, comes in rather as an anticlimax.

Lonsdale Ragg.

Tickencote, Stamford.

MINOR NOTICES.

Rabelaisians are greatly indebted to M. Bourrilly for his much needed edition of Rabelais's *Lettres écrites d'Italie*, recently published by Champion for the Société des études rabelaisiennes. Bringing to the task a more intimate knowledge of the period of Francis I than that of any living man, he has performed it with a scholarly precision which is beyond praise. In his interesting introduction he deals with Rabelais's first two visits to Rome, and raises by the way two points which are of some importance. First, he suggests with great plausibility that it was on the return from the first visit, that is to say in the spring of 1534, and not, as has hitherto been generally supposed, on the outward journey in 1535, that Rabelais paid the visit to Florence which he records in Chapter xi of the Fourth Book. Secondly, he is of opinion that Rabelais did not accompany Jean Du Bellay on his

hurried flight from Rome in February 1536, but remained behind with the rest of the Ambassador's suite till the month of April. This view is rendered very probable by the safe-conduct granted by the Pope to the Cardinal's *familiares ac servitores*, the text of which M. Bourrilly prints in an appendix. If M. Bourrilly is right, Rabelais must have been in Rome when Charles V made his entry on April 5.

A. T.

In *Ensayos críticos de literatura inglesa y española* (Madrid, 1910) Señor José de Armas has collected a number of papers which appeared at various times in Cuban and Spanish periodicals. Though some of them were scarcely worth reprinting, the volume is of interest to Englishmen: for English literature is much neglected in Spain and Spanish-speaking countries. The author is evidently a man of culture and an enthusiast, and discourses pleasantly enough, if never very deeply, on Marlowe, Othello, Pepys and on Calderón in England. The volume is dedicated to Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly, whose *History of Spanish Literature* (in the French version) forms the subject of one of the essays, where its great merits are duly appreciated.

H. O.

Every fresh Anglo-Norman text that appears carefully edited, and with a philological and general introduction conceived on scholarly lines, is sure of a hearty welcome; and such a welcome should be especially hearty in England. In his edition of the *Sermon de Guischart de Beauliu* (Uppsala and Leipzig, 1910) Dr A. Gabrielson meets all requirements. Three MSS. contain shorter versions of this text, two of which were somewhat imperfectly printed by Jubinal and Stengel, while a third was discussed and excerpted by P. Meyer. The present volume contains these versions in a full and revised form; while the body of the text is devoted to the only complete version of the Sermon, which is contained in Harl. 4388 and is now published for the first time. Dr Gabrielson decides in favour of Anglo-Norman authorship, in spite of the fact that not all the traits are Anglo-Norman. He agrees with De La Rue in thinking that the author belonged to the Cistercian priory of Beaulieu in Hertfordshire (a dependency of the Abbey of St Albans): for though the poet himself tells us that he had taken Benedictine orders, the Cistercians also followed the rule of Benedict. Finally, he holds that the poem belongs to the end of the twelfth century.

H. O.

All lovers of Italian literature will have seen with pleasure the announcement that a new series of *Scrittori d' Italia* is contemplated by the firm of Gius. Laterza e Figli (Bari). The project is conceived on monumental lines: more than 600 volumes are to appear, including all that is best in Italian literature. One of the first now lies before

us—*Lirici Marinisti*, edited by Benedetto Croce. If this book is to be regarded as typical of the rest, critical introductions are to be dispensed with; in the present case, at any rate, there is nothing beyond a full bibliographical appendix. In view of the enormous number of existing monographs, to say nothing of the histories of literature, this is perhaps as well. The series is intended for students and cultured readers, who will have no difficulty in 'placing' the works in question, and in finding all the additional information they require. The great need nowadays is for critical texts, carefully edited, and, in the case of anthologies, carefully selected. On these lines Signor Croce has done his work admirably: in collecting typical poems of the Marinisti he was practically a pioneer. We may add that the book is beautifully printed on excellent paper.

H. O.

Chaucer, no doubt, is a humorist, but it is a mistake to suppose that he wrote nothing seriously. Mr Harold C. Goddard, in his essay on the *Legend of Good Women* (University of Illinois, 1909), expresses the opinion that the whole composition is an elaborate joke, a satire upon women, 'a poem whose humour and irony are so gigantic, so colossal...as to defy description, and yet whose facetiousness is not more stupendous than it is subtle, whose satirical shafts are not more keen than they are unexpected.' Having mounted on this hobby, the author proceeds to ride it to death. The use of the word 'Legend' in the title may be meant to imply that the tales are untrue; the fact that the series is left incomplete is simply a part of the joke, no more good women could be found; the introduction of the names of Absalom and Jonathan into the balade is intended to suggest that there was not a sufficient supply of beautiful women available; the mention of books as authority for the stories implies that there were no instances of womanly fidelity to be found except in books; when the God of Love gave the poet leave to omit unnecessary details, we are to understand this as hinting at the many undesirable things that might be recorded from the lives of the heroines; the choice of the lives of such persons as Cleopatra and Medea, while Penelope and Alcestis are omitted, must be taken to be a stroke of malice, and though it is admitted that their doings are placed in as favourable a light as possible, this is perhaps only that the reader may be moved to think the more about what is left out. That there are strokes of humorous satire in the Prologue of the *Legend* no one will deny: it is quite in Chaucer's manner to combine a serious story with an ironical comment, as in the case of the tale of Griselda; and it is likely enough that the list of books given in the so-called A text has a humorously ironical significance: but Mr Goddard has quite failed to establish his contention that the tales are satirical, and that being so, his whole case falls to the ground. On the insecure foundation of his theory he erects an argument in favour of the priority of the A text of the Prologue, which need not be

examined in detail. Mr Goddard thinks that Chaucer's central motive in revising the Prologue was to increase the irony and satire of what he had written, yet at the same time to make that irony and satire more subtle and imperceptible. Accordingly, when he finds that in the text which he regards as the earlier the traces of irony and satire are more definite than in the other, he takes refuge in the suggestion that Chaucer here endeavoured to make the satire more effective by rendering it imperceptible. The whole argument is a piece of special pleading, and the author adopts a supercilious tone with regard to Ten Brink and other critics which, considering the weakness of his own case, is hardly decent.

G. C. M.

The single-volume edition of Marlowe issued by the Clarendon Press (*The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, 1910) contains the promise of a library edition to be published shortly, in which will be found a full critical account of the text, as well as explanatory notes and a discussion of the various problems of authorship with which Marlowe's name has been connected. Detailed criticism therefore may be reserved till the appearance of the larger book. Meanwhile we have here a handy volume for the use of the student and the general reader, which reproduces in the case of each work the text of the earliest editions, so far as the relative dates of editions can be ascertained, with brief but business-like introductions, and footnotes which record the variants. Its text is certainly far more authentic than that of Cunningham's edition, with which it naturally comes into comparison. It may reasonably be a question, however, whether in the case of a book intended for the general reader, the translations might not with advantage have been omitted. 'Judged by absolute standards,' says the editor, 'Marlowe's *Elegies* must be agreed to be a failure, both as poetry and as a rendering of the Latin.' This being so, their indecency may be considered a sufficient reason for leaving them out of a book which will probably be in the hands of young students of both sexes. Still less reason is there for the inclusion of the *Epigrams* of Sir John Davies, merely because they are printed with the *Elegies* in the early editions. A very convenient feature of the present volume is the continuous numbering of the lines in each play, the two parts of *Tamburlaine* being for this purpose treated as one drama.

G. C. M.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

September—November, 1910.

GENERAL.

Osthoff, H., und K. Brugmann, Morphologische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen. VI. Teil, mit einem Register. Leipzig, Hirzel. 12 M.

Singer, S., Mittelalter und Renaissance. Die Wiedergeburt des Epos und die Entstehung des neueren Romans. Zwei Vorträge. (Sprache und Dichtung, II.) Tübingen, Mohr. 1 M. 80.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

General.

Prinzipienfragen der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft. W. Meyer-Lübke gewidmet. I. Teil. (Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 26. Heft.) Halle, Niemeyer. 6 M.

Latin.

Sammlung vulgärlateinischer Texte. III. Proben aus der sogenannten Mulomidécina Chironis (Buch II und III), herausgegeben von M. Niedermann. IV. Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman, herausgegeben von F. Pfister. Heidelberg, Winter. Each 1 M. 20.

Traube, L., Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen. Herausg. von F. Boll. II. Band. Einleitung in die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters. Munich, Beck. 8 M.

Italian.

Azzolini, M., G. Carducci und die deutsche Literatur (Sprache und Dichtung, III). Tübingen, Mohr. 3 M.

Bandello, M., Le novelle. I, II, a cura di G. Brognoligo. (Scrittori d'Italia, II, VI.) Bari, Laterza. Each 5 L. 50.

Bandello, M., Le quattro parti de le Novelle riprodotte sulle antiche stampe di Lucca (1554) e di Lione (1573) a cura di G. Balsamo-Crivelli. Vol. I. Turin, Unione Tip. Editr. Torinese. 7 L.

Boccalini, T., Ragguagli di Parnaso e Pietra del Paragone politico, a cura di G. Rua. (Scrittori d'Italia, V.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.

Butler, A. J., The Forerunners of Dante. A Selection from Italian Poetry before 1300. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 6*s.* net.

Croce, B., Scritti di storia letteraria e politica. Vol. I. Saggi sulla letteratura italiana del seicento. Bari, Laterza. 6 L.

Dante Alighieri, Die göttliche Komödie. Ausgewählte Abschnitte aus dem Gedicht mit Übersetzung, Erklärung und Einleitung von F. Settegast. Leipzig, Diederich. 4 M.

De Chiara, S., Dante e la Calabria. 2da edizione. (Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari, 91—93.) Città di Castello, S. Lapi. 4 L.

Della Porta, G. B., Le commedie. Vol. I, a cura di V. Spampanato. (Scrittori d'Italia, IV.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.

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